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ENGLISH PAINTING OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

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by

C. H. COLLINS BAKER

AND

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THE TEXT

INTRODUCTION

To write the history of painting in England during the two centuries following the close of the Middle Ages is to describe a series of painters whose names with very few exceptions denote origin in the Low Countries and whose work is nearly all portraiture.

The student of the painting of other European countries during these two centuries finds a large body of artists pursuing many varieties of subject, each one of which is an outlet for as many varieties of genius; the whole achievement strikes him as formidable and compelling, and in itself a comparatively clear mirror of the life and spirit of the age. Not only paintings in oil have survived but drawings in considerable number and further, and very important, many thousands of engravings.

Now English drawings of the sixteenth century can literally be counted on the fingers of our two hands; of engravings there may be one or two hundred. Not until the middle of the seventeenth century is there an English engraver with any considerable body of work to his name, and the English drawings of the same century are the veriest fraction of what has survived elsewhere.

Yet it cannot be said that England was out of touch with the painting of the rest of Europe or that opportunities for the reawakening of native traditions in painting did not occur. In the sixteenth century Hans Holbein produced the finest works of his maturity at the court of Henry VIII: Anthonis Mor made a short sojourn and after him Federigo Zuccaro a still shorter stay. In a receptive atmosphere these men could not but have left their mark. As it was, the only result has been that till recently innumerable English paintings of the sixteenth century have been fantastically attributed to one of these three, whose authentic works amount to a mere handful, of which the quality is far beyond anything produced by any other artists working in England at the time.

In the next century Van Dyck, coming to a court whose King was one of the most discriminating of connoisseurs, seems to have been the heaven-sent driving force to call a native school into being. That he failed cannot be laid to his door. Charles I is rightly acknowledged as one of the most enlightened patrons of the arts that England has seen. His collection was world-famous. His favourite, Buckingham, was rivalled and outstripped as a col-

lector of ancient marbles and pictures by one man alone — Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, called "the father of virtu in England" and perhaps the greatest collector of his age. Charles' mother, Anne of Denmark, had had a passion for masquing, a form of entertainment which had been popular long before her time; Holbein had designed masques for the entertainment of Henry VIII by the merchants of London; Elizabeth's favourites had squandered fortunes in providing these entertainments for her; Charles and Henrietta Maria carried on the tradition which Anne of Denmark had brought to Court and the first forty years of the century witnessed a series of entertainments inspired by the literary genius of such writers as Ben Jonson, and the decorative genius of Inigo Jones.

In the limited circle of the Court the years 1630-1640 are a period of brilliant artistic achievement, full of promise. But the outbreak of civil war brought all to an end. The native artists trained in the studio of Van Dyck found themselves with few patrons or pupils; once more the foreign painter, trained in a longer-established tradition, was able to come to England and dominate the scene. First Peter Lely made his fortune and gathered a magnificent collection of old master drawings and paintings from the wreckage of the old régime, and towards the end of the century Sir Godfrey Kneller established his prolific studio in London, which studio was the direct parent of the first real drawing school in London, in which all the leading native artists of the eighteenth century were trained.

Before this no truly native school of painters can be said to have existed. Holbein and Van Dyck had passed without establishing more than an unexpressed desire to see something of the kind. Yet the history of the two centuries is such as to make a thoughtful student look for outstanding achievement in the art of painting if he may judge from what he knows of the art and the history of other centuries.

Be that as it may, he will look in vain for any renaissance of mediaeval religious painting in an England which had suffered the Wars of the Roses and undergone a Reformation. Nor will he find in English art any reflexion from the Continent of that interest in *genre* painting which reached its height in the Dutch seventeenth-century school. Nor again will our student see that, denied an outlet in ecclesiastical art, the inspiration of British painters found a new channel in landscape painting, as did the Flemish and Dutch painters

in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Instead of these discoveries he will have to face the fact that in England throughout these two centuries there was no serious call for any but the art of portraiture.

To the question "Why?" there is no obvious answer. To those who read the more detailed surveys of first the sixteenth and then the seventeenth centuries which follow, some answers, though perhaps not a definite answer, will occur, but it is not out of place to hazard a few ideas at the close of this introduction.

It is easy to make the rather plausible answer that the English are not an artistic nation but a severely practical one that does not believe in cultivating the arts for their own sake. But to that there is this objection, that no nation can be described as inartistic and that no nation has ever cultivated art for its own sake. The art of a nation is part of its life; there are times when it is at a low ebb of production for one reason or another, economic or spiritual, but there is always available a body of talent whose works bear a peculiar national impress and epitomize what are called national characteristics. The number of these works and their quality depend largely on the type of employment available at any given time. Once given sufficient bulk of employment genius will find its own.

The question which here really needs answering is this: how is it that the country which in the Middle Ages built such cathedrals, was famed throughout Europe for its needlework, its alabaster carving and its illumination, was not quickened with the rest of northern Europe to found a tradition in painting which might by analogy with what happened in other countries have been as great as the English literature?

On the economic side there was not sufficient bulk of employment to maintain the necessary number of studios or workshops in England of the early sixteenth century; these had not only to be maintained but almost established afresh: the religious houses which had been the great schools and workshops of the past were anyhow in decline and then had to go altogether.

Nor did the atmosphere of these workshops become re-established in the form of painters' guilds or national academies; only what may be called the traditions of character survived, a tradition of meticulous craftsmanship in general and in particular a sense of line in draughtsmanship.

Yet, on the other side, it cannot be said that the arts were altogether in

decay in England. Men still built themselves houses and tombs, gardens and furniture, and in these domestic arts native genius found expression in no uncertain way. We are concerned here with English painting, but no student can afford to neglect the study of English domestic architecture and all its attendant arts and crafts if he would understand. The Englishman of then tended as now to centre his life on his house, and what he had in his house he liked to be able to use. Pictures were largely furnishings or embellishments to remind him of his ancestors and family or of his own pleasures, and that is why portraits and sporting scenes so often make up the bulk of an older English collection. It would be unjust to assume that most men were insensible even if ignorant, that only a few finer, more travelled minds realized the achievements of European art of the time.

On the physical side again, England has no land frontiers, consequently once political and religious upheaval had caused a break in tradition it was not easy to get a new one established. Holland of the seventeenth century, in spite of similar upheavals, produced a great school of painters. England had to wait another hundred years.

It is not difficult to multiply economic excuses, but in all situations of this kind there is a human factor at least as strong as the material. To answer the question fully on its spiritual side might require that definitive essay on the English temperament for which the world still waits. Such an essay may be usefully imagined though it cannot be attempted here. Perhaps it is a fact that the English temperament does not easily express itself in terms of painting: the English School has in its time produced artists of extraordinary individual genius and it is true also to say that all the great painters have been individualists far more than leaders of a school deeply conscious of its traditions.

Then, when speaking of traditions, it is relevant to reflect that a scheme for the foundation of an academy of arts and sciences was seriously proposed to King James I, but did not mature either in his reign or that of the art-loving Charles. It is very significant too that the first academy to be founded under royal patronage in England is the Royal Society, which has become the most famous scientific body in the world. Its foundation came at a time of marked intellectual curiosity, at what would now be called a time of reconstruction, after a war in which national faith and political convictions had been sadly and severely tried and tested.

EARLY TUDOR PORTRAITURE

WHEN, in 1485, Henry VII ascended the throne, painting in England had become almost a lost art. Here and there, work such as the wall paintings in Eton College Chapel witnessed the survival of a great tradition. But thirty years of ruthless civil war had dried up the springs of patronage; and the chief employment of painters was in the decoration of parish churches, at the expense of the merchants and smaller landed gentry who were rising to prosperity through the woollen trade. Portrait painting shared in the general decline. While in the Netherlands and Italy portraiture had become an accepted and regular part of a painter's work, and was achieving some of its greatest triumphs, England and France alike were barren; and except for an occasional portrait in a manuscript, such as those of John Siferwas and his patron in the fragment of the Lovel lectionary in the British Museum, and that of John Rous in the Rous Roll belonging to the College of Arms, no fifteenth-century portrait by an English painter is known to survive.

The Tudors did little to encourage the revival of painting. They were a practical, hard-headed, close-fisted race, quite uninterested in art, except so far as it could serve their personal prestige or political ends. Henry VIII might be lavish enough in his expenditure on bricks and mortar, or in attempts to rival the splendour of the court of Francis I; but to squander money on painters was another matter. The name of Holbein throws lustre upon the society which employed him. His coming to England, however, was due mainly to his own initiative, in the hope of finding work; and regular employment from the Court did not come until late in life, and then at low rates. The other painters employed by Henry were, almost without exception, nonentities; since a Tudor was not likely to embark on the costly and hazardous adventure of tempting a Leonardo to his court. Mary and Elizabeth were the daughters of their father. The one might consent to sit to Anthonis Mor, the other to employ Federigo Zuccaro; but only as a rare indulgence while cheaper painters could not be found locally.

Like master, like man. The great personalities of Tudor England, the new nobility and the great merchants. were much too busy with affairs of state and commerce, and in consolidating their social position, to bother much with art. They called for portraits as a reflection of their growing sense of personal

power and individuality; but they were ready to employ the men nearest to hand, and paid little heed to quality.

Such kind of patronage was not likely to evoke latent native talent; but rather to draw from abroad inferior artists who found it difficult to make a living in their own country. So it is that, if Holbein and Mor be excepted, the history of painting in sixteenth-century England is chiefly a record of work by foreign mediocrities. Yet the period has interest for the student of art, despite the poverty of its achievement. It sees the transition from an England in which foreign artists dominated painting to one in which a distinctively English art of portraiture begins shyly to emerge, inaugurating a tradition which was to reach full development in the eighteenth century. In miniature painting especially was this the case. The portrait medallions which decorate many fourteenth and fifteenth-century English manuscripts had legitimate succession in the work of Nicholas Hilliard (1547?-1619) and Isaac Oliver (1556?-1617), who turned the technical methods of mediaeval illuminators to the purpose of portraiture on a small scale, founding an art which had its chief home in England. With the history of the miniature this book is not concerned; but that history must never be forgotten in estimating the achievement of painting in Tudor England. Moreover, though the age was one of foreign painters, it was also one of English sitters, among them some of the greatest personalities in English history, by whose hands the foundations of modern England were laid. On its merits, Elizabethan portraiture can scarcely be mentioned in the same breath as Holbein's matchless record of society under Henry VIII; yet work to which its painter failed to give life, draws vitality from Elizabeth, her court and her ministers.

The following pages, therefore, so far as they relate to portraiture under the Tudors, are mainly a record of painting in England and not of English painting; and even so the work of Holbein and Mor is only touched upon, since it has been exhaustively treated in monographs on those painters. Moreover, no attempt has been made to bring together every example of Tudor portraiture; and no claim to have broken new ground can be made. No new documents are disclosed; no hitherto unknown painters are brought forward; and only very few of the portraits described have not already been published. Two main purposes have, however, been kept in view. The first is to arrange in some kind of order information now scattered throughout a num-

ber of books and periodicals, many of them difficult of access. The second is to extract from the mass of random attribution and vague speculation what is definitely known about Tudor portraiture, and (even more important) what is not known. In this way it is hoped to provide a skeleton, which the labour and researches of others may some day clothe.

THE history of Tudor portraiture opens with a number of royal portraits, similar in type but of varying authorship and date. A few are apparently independent works. The majority, however, fall into groups according to size, shape, type of background, and technique; and so divided evidently formed parts of several distinct series of royal portraits, designed to decorate rooms in the same way as the series of philosophers, now in the Barberini Palace and in the Louvre, were painted by Justus of Ghent for the study of Federigo of Urbino. There is literary evidence that such a use of portraits for decoration was known in England; for Dugdale mentions that when Edward II visited the Abbey of Gloucester, he remarked on the series of kings' portraits painted on the walls of the Abbot's parlour. The longest series, and the best in quality, is in the collection of H. M. the King at Windsor, and consists of five portraits which can be traced back to the inventory of the pictures in the Palace of Westminster made for Henry VIII in 1542. As described in the inventory, these are:

> Henry the V, protected by a curtain,
> Henry the VI, with a curtain,
> Kynge Edwarde the III, with a curtain,
> Kynge Richarde the Thirde, with a curtain,
> Queene Elizabethe (of York), with a curtain.

These portraits represent the sitters bust length, with hands. They are roughly of the same size (22 by 14 inches), and are painted on panel in solid pigment, with bright colours and plentiful use of gold in the costumes and ornaments. All have backgrounds covered with floral patterns simulating Italian brocades. The modelling of the heads and hands is vigorous, but coarse; and the figures have little vitality or individual character. But the fact that in the 1542 inventory they are described as protected by curtains suggests that they were then regarded as of importance.

Another group at Windsor, feebler in workmanship than the preceding group, and evidently from a different workshop, includes portraits of Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, Elizabeth Woodville, Edward IV and Henry VII. These are about the same size as the panels in the first group, which suggests the possibility of the two having formed one series. The fact, however, that Edward IV appears in both groups, makes it more likely that they formed part of an independent series, which it has been suggested may have come from the Palace of Greenwich, where a set of royal portraits is said to have existed.

Parts of two more independent series are in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. One of these includes an Edward IV and a Richard III similar to the portraits of those kings at Windsor, but smaller in size, different in details, with plain backgrounds, and of a technique similar to that of the second Windsor series. The second series belonging to the Society of Antiquaries adds to Edward IV and Richard III a number of foreign rulers, among them Charlemagne, Ferdinand of Spain, and Louis XII of France. These portraits are considerably smaller in size than those of the other series, are painted on round-topped panels in one piece with their frames, and have plain backgrounds of varying colours. The Edward IV and Richard III are similar to the Windsor examples, though the Richard is reversed.

Numerous isolated examples from other similar series exist. Among these may be mentioned an Edward IV in the collection of Sir William Plender, formerly at Cassiobury Park, which approaches in quality the first Windsor group. An inferior replica is in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey. In the National Portrait Gallery, London, are also portraits of Richard II, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV (lent by the Duke of Northumberland), Richard III, and Elizabeth of York. These vary in quality, but are none of them more than shop productions.

None of the portraits so far discussed was taken from life. The technique is of the early sixteenth century, and has similarities to that of the later rood-screens of East Anglia and Devonshire. Evidently, the portraits merely perpetuate established iconographic types. That these are pure inventions is unlikely, though no trace remains of any drawings or paintings from which they could have been derived.

The case is different, however, with the portraits of Henry VII and his

family. These differ considerably in quality, but give evidence of closer contact with the sitter. A good example is the portait of Henry in the collection of Earl Brownlow[1], representing the king in middle life, and marked by considerable power of characterization. Later in date is the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London, which a contemporary inscription states was painted for Hermann Rinck in 1575. This is delicately and sensitively painted, though it lacks vigour, and is superior to two similar portraits in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. Distinct in workmanship is a Henry VII at Windsor, clearly a shop work, similar in character to the second Windsor series of earlier kings, and perhaps painted as companion to them. Also similar in technique to this series is a portait of Henry VIII as a young man, in the collection of Mr. H. Clifford Smith. This is about the same size as the first Windsor series, and has similar ornaments in the upper corners, and a floriated background, and seems likely to have been painted as an addition to that series. Similar in technique again, but smaller in size, are two portraits of Arthur Prince of Wales. One is at Windsor, and is described in the 1542 inventory; the other, which differs in pose and costume, was recently in the hands of Messrs. Spink.

Plate 1

All these portraits of Henry VII and his sons show strong Flemish influence in technique; and attempts have even been made to attribute the Brownlow portrait to Mabuse. A legitimate conclusion from the facts seems to be that early in the sixteenth century, under Flemish influence, portrait painting from life begins in England; while similarity in technique of certain portraits of earlier kings at Windsor and elsewhere suggests that painters were also employed to manufacture or to enlarge series of royal portraits.

This still leaves unexplained the character and authorship of the first Windsor group. A clue may be found in the fine portrait of Princess Mary Tudor in the National Gallery, London, which may be dated c. 1510. This has the solid pigment and firm, bold modelling of the first Windsor group, with a similar floriated background; though it is far more subtle and sensitive in handling, and is evidently based on first-hand study of the sitter. The portrait is at present attributed to the French School; and there are grounds for connecting it with the work of Jehan Perréal, who was employed by Pierre de Bourbon and his wife, Anne de Beaujeu, became painter to Charles VIII and Louis XII, and is now generally identified with the so-called

"Maître de Moulins". Perréal was sent over to England at the time of the marriage of Princess Mary Tudor to Louis XII, to design the bride's dresses; and it is possible that he provided a pattern for the manufacture of a series of royal portraits. At the same time, the above-mentioned analogy in technique between the first Windsor group of such portraits, and the English rood-screens must not be forgotten as an indication of English origin.

Quite distinct in character from the royal portraits, is one in the collection of Earl Fortescue, which is said to be a portrait of Sir John Fortescue (1394?-1476?).[2] The presumed identity of the sitter has led to its being tentatively described as English. In fact, he is represented as a man of not more than thirty years old, while the technique and character of the portrait relate it to the Flemish School of the middle and later fifteenth century. Even if the sitter's identity be accepted, the fact that Fortescue shared the exile of Margaret of Anjou in Scotland and Flanders from 1461 to 1471 joins the character of the painting in strengthening the case for Flemish origin.

Plate 2 In contrast, the charming portrait of Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, in the National Portrait Gallery, London, may be accepted as English. The sitter is represented as a comparatively young woman, very different from the grim ascetic of the full-length portrait in St. John's College, Cambridge, which is an icon rather than a portrait, probably painted after Margaret's death. The sensitive contours and flat patterning of the earlier work mark it as descended from the work of manuscript illuminators, and as in the direct line of descent from them to Hilliard; while its air of breeding and distinction relate it to some of the heads in the wall paintings executed between 1477 and 1488 in Eton College Chapel, with which it must be practically contemporary.

PORTRAITURE UNDER HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI

THE second main group of Tudor portraits consists of those connected with the courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and centres round the work of Holbein. That work falls outside the scope of the present study. But it is desirable to emphasize that Holbein did not come to England as an established and successful painter, attracted by the offer of work from the Court. His first visit in 1526 was made on his own initiative, when he was young and little known, with only the lukewarm encouragement of Sir Thomas More. During his stay, More's patronage apparently procured him plenty of work, but no court patronage except a share in the decoration of the buildings erected at Greenwich in 1527 for the reception of the French Ambassadors. On his second visit in 1531, his former patrons were dead or under a cloud, and at first his chief sources of work were the German merchants of the Steelyard, and other foreign residents or visitors. There is no certain evidence that he obtained court employment until 1537: and then it took the form of decorative work, embodying portraits, but not portraiture pure and simple. Thenceforward, however, until his death in 1543, Holbein was constantly employed by Henry, and to these later years belongs the main group of his English portraits.

The importance of this otherwise irrelevant account lies in its furnishing a partial explanation of the surprising fact that Holbein appears to have had no pupils, and did not found a distinct school. That he had assistants in his large decorative works is probable; that he had imitators is certain from the considerable number of inferior repetitions of portraits by him which exist. Most of these are beneath contempt, and not of the period at all. Many of them were produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, possibly to replace an original that had been sold, more usually for junior branches of a family when the original portrait had passed to the senior branch. There is, however, a small group of works dating from the last years of Henry VIII, and from the reign of Edward VI, which are directly inspired by Holbein, but have independent character and interest of their own. Before considering these, however, it is desirable to discuss several of Holbein's contemporaries and immediate successors, whose names, if not their works, are known. Conspicuous among these is Johannes Corvus, to whom two portraits may be

Plate 3a safely attributed. One of these is a portrait of Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which hangs in the hall of that College. It was engraved by Vertue in 1723, and was then in a frame, described by Walpole as "of the same age as the picture, coloured in imitation of red marble with veins of green, and inscribed: JOANNES CORVUS FLANDRUS FACIEBAT".[3] This old frame was unfortunately replaced early in the nineteenth century by a gilt one, and all trace of it has disappeared. Of this portrait there are several repetitions, with variations, all of considerably later date. Among these are three at Corpus. Another, smaller in size with a background of pale green instead of dark blue, and representing the sitter with his eyes almost closed, is in the collection of Mr. Dent Brocklehurst at Sudeley Castle. The importance of this last is that it appears to be a work of the period, and is dated 1522. Mrs. Poole[4] suggests that it is a copy from the original, which must have been painted therefore in or before 1522. Foxe is supposed, however, to have been blind for ten years before his death in 1528; and the original, in which the pupils are visible, may perhaps have been painted in 1518, the year in which the building of Corpus was nearing completion. Another repetition, dated 1522, is at Magdalen College; but Mrs. Poole thinks that its date may have been derived from the Sudeley panel.[5]

Plate 3b The second portrait attributable to Corvus is at Sudeley Castle, and represents Princess Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. As late as 1860 this also was in its original frame,[6] which bore a similar inscription to that of the Foxe portrait, viz. JOHANNES CORVUS FLANDRUS FACIEBAT; with the sitter's name and her age, thirty-four. According to the Dictionary of National Biography, Mary was born in 1496, which would make the date of the portrait 1530. Connected with this portrait is one of Catherine of Aragon in the National Portrait Gallery. The technique and handling are those of a copy; but the resemblance to the Sudeley Castle picture in design and treatment of the forms is so marked that the original was almost certainly the work of Corvus. This original must have been painted before 1531, the date when Henry VIII finally abandoned Catherine.

Of the life of Corvus, little is known. Probably he is the Jan Rav who was admitted to the Bruges Guild in 1512, and the Jehan Raf who painted for Francis I in 1532 "une carte où est figuré les villes et pays d'Angleterre" and in 1534 "ung portraict de la ville de Londres dont il a ci-devant fait présent

au dict Seigneur".[7] Also he may be the Jan Raven, born in Flanders, who acquired naturalization in England in that year.[8]

His portrait of Foxe reveals Corvus as a painter of some merit, whose hard linear draughtsmanship, emphatic modelling, and use of reflected light relate him to the painter of a group of portraits which it is fashionable to attribute to the mysterious Sotte Cleve; though some competent opinions regard them as late works of the Joos van Cleve generally identified with the Master of the Death of the Virgin.[9] In contrast the Princess Mary and the Catherine Parr are remotely related to the work of Holbein; though their heavy slab-like countenances and insensitive, inexpressive drawing, do little honour to their exemplar. It is noteworthy that no work by or attributable to Corvus survives from the period when Holbein was at the height of his reputation in England. Such competition evidently made France an easier field in which Corvus might seek employment.

The portraits described above have served as basis for several other attributions. The most reasonable is that of the portrait of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, husband of Frances, daughter of Mary Tudor (sister of Henry VIII) by her second husband Charles Brandon, which is in the National Portrait Gallery, London. This represents Grey wearing the Garter, which he received in 1546-7 and may therefore have been painted after that date. The insignia however, may very well have been put in some time after the portrait was finished; and the fact that the affinities of this portrait are with the Bishop Foxe, rather than with the Princess Mary, points to an earlier date than 1546, unless we assume return by Corvus to his earlier manner of painting. Hesitation in this case is replaced by frank doubt in that of the portrait of Princess Mary (daughter of Henry VIII and afterwards Queen) in the National Portrait Gallery. This is dated 1544; which has led to its tentative identification with a picture mentioned in an entry of that year in the privy purse expenses of the Princess:[10] "Itm. pd to one John that drue her Grace in a table vli". In the first place, there is no other evidence of Corvus being in England in 1544, except the above-mentioned entry concerning the naturalization of Jan Raven; and there is no reason to suppose that he was the only painter active at this time called John. The portrait in the National Gallery, London (to be discussed later), dated 1545 and attributed to John Bettes, is evidence to the contrary. Secondly, the flat forms and the elaborated linear

treatment of the portrait are quite different from the heavy massiveness of the better-authenticated works of Corvus; and in fact are some degrees nearer the style of the Bettes portrait. The same criticism covers the attribution to Corvus of a full-length portrait of a Tudor Princess, described as Catherine Parr, but possibly the Princess Elizabeth, in the collection of Mrs. Booth of Glendon.[11] This is related to the National Portrait Gallery Princess Mary, and belongs to a group of works quite distinct from that of Corvus.

A contemporary of Corvus was one Luke Hornebaud (or Hornebolte) who appears in the Royal household accounts in 1526 and subsequent years. He died in London in 1544, and in his will, dated 1543, described himself as "servante and painter unto the Kinges majestie". There also appears in the household account the name of Gerard Hornebaud, who received a lower salary than Luke.[12] As to their relation there is no evidence. They may have been brothers to one Susanna, who married John Parker, keeper of the King's robes.[13] Susanna is known to have been daughter of another Gerard Hornebolt, one of the numerous Ghent family of that name who were painters: and Luke and Gerard if not his sons were probably connected with his family. Of their work, nothing is known to survive. There is no justification for the attribution to Luke of the portrait of Henry VIII in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which is dated 1544, the year of his death. This portrait has, however, other claims to attention. It is the latest known portrait of Henry, and was evidently very popular from the number of versions which survive. Prominent among these are those in the National Portrait Gallery, London, the Fitzwilliam Museum (Marlay Bequest), Warwick Castle, at Chatsworth (a bust instead of three-quarters-length), at Knole, and in the collection of Lord Ilchester. These versions differ in colour and in the richness of the costume, but appear to be of the same period, and are alike in the greasy handling of their paint. The inspiration comes from Holbein, though the quality falls lamentably below him.

Plate 4

Flemish painters were not the only foreign artists who received employment from Henry VIII. Payments to several Italian painters appear in various account books of the King's household;[14] and in certain cases letters of naturalization were granted to them.[15] Among the names are Antonio Toto, Bartolommeo Penni, Girolamo da Treviso, Vincenzo Volpe, and Niccolò da Modena. With the exception of Toto, all these men appear to have been

employed on decorative work only; and Toto's association with portrait painting was apparently very slight. He was appointed Sergeant Painter to Henry VIII, and continued in that office under Edward VI. In 1552 he presented to the King as a New Year's gift "the phismanye of the duke of... steyned upon cloth of silver, in a frame of wood". But one portrait, and that dubiously so, does not make a portrait painter.

The only English painters who appear in connection with Henry VIII are the Sergeant Painters. Of these John Browne was appointed in 1511, and was succeeded after his death by Andrew Wright, who made his will in 1543. These men appear to have been exclusively decorative painters. John Browne painted and gilded a roof, and provided tabards for the herald; Andrew Wright painted the King's Barge. Evidently, they were craftsmen, rather than artists; and were not concerned with portraiture. There is, however, reason to believe that one English portrait painter worked in the time of Henry VIII. In the National Gallery, London, there is a portrait dated 1545, *Plate 5* said to represent Edmund Butts, the son of William Butts, who was physician to Henry VIII. On the back of this is an old label inscribed "faict par Johan Bettes Anglois". The age of the label and the unlikelihood of such an attribution without a well-established tradition, make it highly probable that John Bettes is indeed the painter; and there is no reason to suspect the date. The portrait itself is a competent performance, evidently from the hand of a mature and experienced painter, working to some extent in the Holbein tradition, but chiefly influenced from Flanders. Unfortunately, the literary references to Bettes introduce some confusion. Vertue[16] mentions a miniature of Sir John Godsalve drawn by John Betts, who he says learned from Hilliard and was an esteemed painter in the reign of Elizabeth. Godsalve was comptroller of the mint under Edward VI and died in 1556; so unless the miniature was posthumous, the two statements are irreconcilable unless there were two John Bettes whom Vertue has confused. This possibility is strengthened by a reference in Meres' *Wit's Commonwealth,* Part II, published in 1598, to John and Thomas Bettes as contemporary painters; and by the mention in Heydock's translation of *Lomazzo on Painting,* also published in 1598, of one Betts as a miniature painter. It is almost impossible that the Bettes of these references can have come to maturity as early as 1545, the date of the National Gallery portrait; and until the discovery of further documents the

hypothesis of two painters of the same name, of different generations, must hold the field.

During the reign of Edward VI, further names emerge. Chief among these, and one of the few distinct artistic personalities of the period, is Gerlach Flicke.[17] He was apparently unknown to Vertue and Walpole; and our only sources of information concerning him are his will signed in 1558 and proved by his widow in the same year, and the inscription and dates on certain of his works. From these, it appears that he was a German, who held property at Osnabrück; that he was in England in and probably before 1547; that he was in prison in 1554 in company with one Strangwayes, a notorious gentleman privateer of the period; and that he died in London in 1558 a tolerably well-to-do man. Of his work, part of our knowledge is derived from the now famous document known as the Lumley Inventory, which is dated 1590, and is now in the possession of the Earl of Scarbrough.[18] "A certyficate from Mr. John Lampton Stewarde of Howseholde to John Lord Lumley of all his Lo: monumentes of Marbles, Pictures and tables in Paynture". In this appear the following entries:

The statuary of Thomas first Lo: Darcy of Chiche, created by King Edw. 6 Ld. Chamberlayne to the said K. Edw: drawn by Garlicke.

Queen Marye, drawne by Garlicke.

Thomas the third Duke of Northfolke drawne by Garlicke.

Of these portraits the one of Queen Mary is classed in the Inventory among "pictures of a smaller scantlinge". The only one of which the later history is known is that of Lord Darcy, which in 1848 was at Irnham Hall, Lincolnshire, which was sold in 1854; since when the picture has disappeared.

Fortunately, however, three signed works by Flicke have survived. Chief among these is a portrait of a man in the collection of the Marquess of Lothian at Newbattle Abbey. This is signed twice (the second signature probably a later repetition of the first) GERLACIUS FLICCUS GERMANUS FACIEBAT, and inscribed ANº DNI 1547. AETATIS 40. From this inscription, and the introduction of a sprig of columbine into the left background, evidently as a personal badge, Miss Hervey tentatively identified the sitter as William, Lord Grey de Wilton. This portrait reveals Flicke as a thoroughly competent painter, with considerable feeling for decorative arrangement, especially in his handling of colour. It is clearly related to the work of Holbein,

Plate 6

though rather in having sprung from the same German stock than by reason of direct influence; but it lacks the vitality which Holbein's nervous touch and sensitiveness to character could give.

In another signed work, however, direct imitation of Holbein is more probable. This is the portrait of Thomas Cranmer in the National Portrait Gallery, which is inscribed ANNO ETATS 57, JULY 20. Cranmer was born on July and 1489; and assuming the inscription to mean that he was in the fifty-seventh year of his age, which he would enter on July 2nd 1545, the portrait dates from that year. There is, however, a smaller version of the portrait at Jesus College, Cambridge, which gives the same age and month, but adds the year MDXLVII to the inscription; and an engraving in the British Museum, apparently based on this version, bears the date MDXLVIII. It is possible therefore, that the date of the portrait is 1547 or 1548. As Miss Hervey notes, however, it is said that after Henry VIII's death on January 28th 1547, Cranmer as a token of sorrow allowed his beard to grow; while in the portrait he is clean shaved. This is some evidence for the earlier date; though the portrait may well have been based on an earlier drawing or painting. In any case, the evident imitation of Holbein suggests that the inception, if not the actual execution, was at the earlier date. *Plate 7*

The third and last signed portrait by Flicke whose whereabouts is known again differs in character from the other two. This is a small portrait at Newbattle Abbey, identified by M. Dimier as Jacques de Savoie, Duc de Nemours, and signed G. FLICCUS FT.[19] There is no record of the sitter having visited England, and it is probable therefore that it was painted on the continent. The costume points to a date after 1550; and the style is so clearly a reflection of the work of the Clouet school, as to suggest France as its place of production. Possibly Flicke found that country a convenient place of retirement after his imprisonment in 1554. The fact of this imprisonment is known from a small double portrait of Flicke and his friend Strangwayes, seen half-length. In 1881 this was offered for sale at Christie's in the collection of Robert de Ruffières, was bought in, and in 1916 was in the possession of Mr. James Frankes.[20a] Over each figure was the date 1554, and an inscription giving the names of the sitters and recording the fact that Flicke painted the portraits while both were in prison.

From the three known portraits by Flicke he appears as an accomplished

painter, without a definite artistic personality of his own, who painted readily in the mode of the moment. In the case of such a chameleon, ascription on stylistic ground requires great caution. There is, however, a portrait at Newbattle identifiable as of Sir Peter Carew from an old copy inscribed with his name at Hampton Court, which is so closely related to the Lord Grey de Wilton (if it be he) that it must be by the same hand.[20b] Of the same character, and most probably by Flicke also, is the portrait of a man, also said to be Sir Peter Carew, which is in the collection of Lord Yarborough, and is dated 1549.[21] A third but less convincing attribution to Flicke is of a three-quarters-length portrait of Cesare Adelmare of Genoa, who came to England and was physician to both Mary and Elizabeth.[22] This was in 1911 in the collection of Captain Cotterell-Dormer. It is dated 1558; and if by Flicke must be one of his last works.

A greater man than Flicke in his time, but now merely a name to us, is Guillim or Gillam Streetes. According to Strype, in 1551 he was paid fifty marks by the King's Council for three great tables, two of the King himself which were sent to Thomas Hoby, and Sir John Mason, then ambassadors to France, and one of the Earl of Surrey (executed in 1547) which the Council ordered to be brought from the artist's house. In 1553, Streetes appears as King's Painter with an annuity of £ 62.10.0 — a large sum for the time; and in 1556 he presented Queen Mary with a table (i. e. a painting) of her Majesty's marriage.[23] Streetes is definitely described by a contemporary as Gillam Strettes, Dutchman; and the suggestion that he belonged to the Van der Streeten family, several of whom were painters, deserves consideration.[24]

No work by Streetes is known to survive. Walpole[25] mentions that among the old pictures at Somerset House was "one painted on a long board representing the head of Edward VI, to be discerned only by the reflection of a cylindric mirror. On the side of the head was a landscape, not ill done. On the frame was written *Gulielmus pinxit*". This is almost certainly the painting acquired by the National Portrait Gallery, London, in 1891, which was once in the collection of Charles I. The old frame with its inscription has disappeared; but the painting itself is dated 1546. Walpole identified "Gulielmus" with Marc Willems. In fact, Willems would more likely sign as Marcus than Gulielmus; and the picture does not seem likely to be the work of one who was a pupil of Coxie and eminent as a designer for tapestry and

painted glass. It is primarily a curiosity. The head of the King, when seen from such an angle as to reduce it to ordinary proportions, resembles the profile portrait by Holbein formerly in the collection of Lord Lee of Fareham, and the profile drawing at Windsor, and is evidently one of their many derivatives. The landscape, in which are a number of small figures, is markedly Flemish in character. Sitter, date and character therefore all suggest the possibility that Gulielmus is Guillim Streetes; but it would be rash to assume that Streetes was the only William painting in England at the time.

The mention by Strype of the great table of the Earl of Surrey led Walpole to attribute to Streetes a full-length portrait of the Earl, dated 1546, now in the collection of the Duke of Norfolk. Starting from this attribution, a game of Russian scandal has been played, in the course of which the name of Streetes has been attached to a number of portraits of very diverse character, linked only by Holbeinesque character and by having been painted within the same decade.

The majority of these portraits date from the last year of Henry VIII. They all reflect the influence of Holbein, but fall into groups according to the other influences which mingle with it. Closest to Holbein are two portraits, one of an elderly man, formerly in the possession of Mr. Langton Douglas, the other, a profile head of Sir Thomas Wyat, in the collection of Mr. Lewis Fry.[26] The former is dated 1538, the latter from the age of the sitter is c. 1540. Their thin pigment, flat and indecisive modelling, and lack of linear precision, distinguish them from the work of Holbein himself; but they were evidently directly inspired by his work.

A second group is formed by a number of full-length portraits, of which the earliest example is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This is an impressive full-length figure of Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, standing turned almost in profile to the right, against a landscape background of water, trees, distant hills and sky.[27] This is dated 1542. The head is forcibly characterized, and solidly though somewhat coarsely modelled. In the design, great play is made with the dark silhouette of the cap and cloak against the light background. The portrait is said to be a copy from a portrait by Holbein which was destroyed by fire at Cowdray House, of which Fitzwilliam became owner in 1528. But neither the design nor setting is markedly Holbeinesque; and it seems probable that the painting is an original work, with the head adap-

ted from a closely corresponding drawing of the sitter by Holbein at Windsor. From the same source is probably derived a head-and-shoulders portrait of Fitzwilliam in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire.[28] This differs slightly from the head in the full-length portrait, and is less vigorously modelled.

Plate 8 Similar in character to the Cambridge picture is the fine full-length of Sir Thomas Gresham in the Mercers' Hall, dated 1544. The head is more sensitively modelled, the pose has more alertness and energy, and the figure is more definitely related to its surroundings; but the two portraits evidently come from the same artistic circle, if not from the same studio. Closely related again to the Gresham, is the full-length portrait of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, at Arundel, which is dated 1546. This is the picture which by rash identification with the "great table of the late Earl of Surrey" mentioned by Strype, has become the basis of the Guillim Streetes legend. The figure and its immediate surroundings in the Arundel picture are almost

Plate 9 identical with another portrait of the sitter at Knole, also dated 1546; but in the Arundel picture the figure is placed beneath a semicircular archway, round which are disposed Cupids holding garlands, grotesques, and male and female figures supporting coats of the arms, the whole simulating sculpture in high relief in the developed Italian Renaissance style. These additions, and the fact that the Arundel portrait is somewhat less sensitive in modelling than the Knole version, suggest that the latter is the original. In this, added to Holbeinesque character, are Italianate elements; the architectural setting, the weed-fringed ruins, the landscape and even the attitude of the figure, all recall certain full-length portraits by Moroni and Moretto.

A fifth portrait of the same group, though less Italianate than the Surrey example, is the full-length of a young man in red at Hampton Court, who has been described as Henry VIII when young, and as the Earl of Surrey, but certainly represents neither. In this, the modelling is more summary and the drapery more metallic than in the others.

Nothing in any of these portraits justifies their attribution to Streetes. They all belong to a period before 1546, and it is curious if Streetes were the author of such remarkable work that no mention of him occurs until 1551. Moreover, their character is mainly a mingling of German and Italianate elements with no hint of the Netherlandish character which Streetes' nationality would make probable.

Related to them in the mingling of Holbeinesque and Italianate character, but less decisive and vigorous in handling, is the half-length portrait of Sir Anthony Wingfield, formerly in the collection of the late Mr. T. Humphrey Ward.[29] This has been attributed to Holbein, and to Girolamo da Treviso, but is certainly by neither. It is, however, further evidence of Italian influence in England at the period. Distinct, on the other hand, is the three-quarter-length portrait of a Lord de la Warr, formerly in the Holford collection, and now in the National Gallery, London. From the costume this may be dated c. 1550. It is altogether more vivacious than the other portraits, though it lacks their coherence in design (it has, in fact, no design at all) and their feeling for space. It shares with them descent from Holbein; but the admixture in this case is Flemish, rather than Italian. *Plate 10*

This Flemish character also marks several portraits of Henry VIII's children, Edward VI and the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. Examples are the small full-length of Edward VI in the collection of the Duke of Portland; the 1544 portrait of Princess Mary in the National Portrait Gallery, London, discussed above; and one of the same sitter in the Ashmolean Museum. In these linear emphasis tends to replace solid modelling; and the decorative elements in the costume are emphasized wherever possible. Of the three the Ashmolean picture[30] is the most clearly Flemish in character, and is related to the work of the Master of the Half-Lengths. To the same group also belongs the half-length portrait of a young man at Knole, according to an eighteenth-century inscription the Earl of Surrey, but clearly of too late a date for that to be possible. The attribution to Streete of these portraits, in contrast with those previously discussed, is at least justified by their date and Netherlandish character; but it has nothing else to support it. *Plate 11*

PORTRAITURE UNDER MARY AND ELIZABETH

THE foregoing account of portrait painting during the last years of Henry VIII, and under Edward VI, indicates how quickly the influence of Holbein began to be superseded by that from other quarters, especially from the Netherlands. Henceforward Tudor portraiture is predominantly Netherlandish in character, though occasionally there is evidence of the Holbein tradition not being entirely dead. This change was probably accelerated by the visit of Anthonis Mor to England in connection with the marriage of Philip of Spain to Mary. The exact date of Mor's coming is uncertain; but it seems probable that Mor accompanied Philip to England in July 1554, and returned in 1555. The chief fruit of the visit was the fine portrait of Mary which now hangs in the Prado. It is uncertain whether the other portraits of English sitters by Mor, such as the Sir Henry Lee in the National Portrait Gallery, London, and the Sir Thomas Gresham at Leningrad, were painted here or abroad. English contact with the Netherlands was so close at the period, especially in the case of a merchant and financier like Gresham, that such portraits might easily have been produced there. Of the Queen's portrait a large number of versions and copies rapidly came into existence, some probably from Mor's own studio; and through them its influence on English portrait painting was immediate and widespread. A favourable example of the work it inspired is the portrait of Queen Mary at Windsor, called, with no particular justification, Franco-Flemish School. Nothing is known of any English followers of Mor. A contemporary of his, however, was probably one John Alen, who is mentioned as "Ioanne Alen pictore" in John Bale's *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* probably compiled between 1549 and 1557.[31] The numerous references by Bale to books in Alen's possession suggest that he was a considerable collector; but of his work and standing as a painter nothing has so far come to light. Joined to the influence of Mor was perhaps that of the mysterious painter known as Sotte (Crazy) Cleve. According to Van Mander he was the son of Willem van Cleve and was distinct from the Joos van Cleef generally identified with the Master of the Death of the Virgin. Professor Hulin de Loo holds that Sotte Cleve was one Cornelis van Cleve; Dr. Baldass, however, suggests the possibility that from one Joos van Cleve, Van Mander created two, and that Sotte Cleve is largely a fiction.[32] The story is

Plate 12

that Sotte Cleve came to England in search of work, on the occasion of the marriage of Mary and Philip. But of his activity here there is no record. To him are generally ascribed two fine portraits of a painter and his wife, now at Windsor. If they are indeed by Sotte Cleve, they justify the eulogies showered on him by Van Mander; and if they were painted in England, were likely to have exercised considerable influence. But there is nothing to justify either assumption.

Anthonis Mor and Sotte Cleve were only passing visitors in England. A third Netherlander who settled here in or before 1545, and continued at work until after 1573, was Hans Eworth. His rediscovery and reconstitution as an artist is due to Sir Lionel Cust, who published in the Walpole Society Annual of 1912-13 all the literary references to him, and the great majority of signed or documented portraits by him, together with a large number attributed to him on grounds of style. A few pictures have since been added to those certainly from his hand, but without enlarging his artistic personality.[33]

The name of Hans Eworth had not escaped Vertue's insatiable curiosity; for he refers[34] to a portrait of Edward VI "in the collection of Charles I, painted by Hans Hueet of whom nothing else is known", which was sold for £ 20 in the Civil War.[35] Also, he recorded several portraits signed with the monogram ĦE, which he suggested were the work of Lucas de Heere, the Ghent painter born in 1534, who was in England from 1568 to 1576. On this suggestion, Walpole based an elaborate account of de Heere's work, which became current coin with writers on English painting. Doubts arose, however, when it was found that some of the ĦE portraits were dated as early as 1550, which made it practically impossible that they were by de Heere. The final blow to the old theory was given by Sir Lionel Cust linking up the monogram ĦE with the name Hans Eworth. This linking-up became possible through certain entries in the Lumley Inventory which has been mentioned in connection with Gerlach Flicke. These entries refer: 1) to two portraits, one of Sir John Lutterell, the other of Thomas Wyndham, both of which can be identified *Plate 13* with existing portraits which bear the monogram ĦE and are dated 1550; 2) to three portraits described as drawn by Haunce Eworth or Eworthe. All three of these have disappeared; but one was of a certain Edward Shelley killed at the battle of Pinkie in 1541, a similar type of military adventurer to Lutterell and Wyndham. The occurrence of three such portraits of about the same pe-

riod, in the same collection, points to HE standing for Hans Eworth. In addition, one of the three portraits described as by him was of Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, "daughter to the last old Earle of Arundel". At Arundel is still a portrait of this lady, clearly a seventeenth-century copy of a sixteenth-century work, which bears on the frame the date 1550 and the monogram HB, which Sir Lionel Cust describes as "obviously altered from HE". Thus, the balance of probability strongly favours the identification proposed.

The third entry in the inventory relating to Eworth specifies a portrait "of Haward a Dutch Juellor drawne for a Maisters prize by his brother Haunce Eworth", which makes it clear that Eworth came from the Netherlands. There are references to the name Euwort and Ewouts in the records of the Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp; and in various forms the name Hans Eworth appears in Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization of the period, in the accounts of subsidies levied on aliens in London, and in accounts relating to Revels under Elizabeth. From these, it appears that Eworth was a painter; was "borne in Antwerpe and goeth to the Dutch Church"; settled here in or before 1545; and was employed in painting decorations for masques between 1572 and 1573-4.

Eworth's activity thus extends throughout the reigns of Edward VI and Mary far into the reign of Elizabeth. It is, however, convenient to consider his work as a whole, before dealing with the painters chiefly associated with Elizabeth. In doing this, it must be remembered that the long catalogue of portraits compiled by Sir Lionel Cust was intended only as a first step towards bringing that work together, and admittedly contains many highly disputable attributions. The following list is restricted to signed or otherwise authenticated work, which alone provides a safe basis for further attribution, and for estimating Eworth's character as a painter.

SIGNED AND DATED PORTRAITS

	A Turkish Ambassador on Horseback	1549	*Earl of Yarborough, Brocklesby Park*
Plate 13	Captain Thomas Wyndham	1550	*Earl of Radnor*
	Sir John Lutterell	1550	*G. F. Lutterell, Esq., Dunster Castle*

Sir Nicholas Lestrange	1551	*C. A. Le Strange, Esq., Hunstanton Hall*	
Katherine, Wife of Sir Nicholas Lestrange	1551	*Hunstanton Hall*	
Queen Mary	1554	*Society of Antiquaries*	
Henry FitzAlan, Lord Maltravers	1557	*Duke of Norfolk*	
Portrait of a Lady	1557	*P. M. Turner, Esq.* (in 1925).	
William Howard, first Lord Howard of Effingham	1558	*G. H. Baring, Esq.*	
Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk and her second husband, Adrian Stoke	1559	*J. C. Wynne-Finch, Esq.*	*Plate 14*
Portrait of a Man	1559	*Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan*	
Memorial Painting for a member of the Judd family	1560	*Dulwich Gallery*	
Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and his brother, Charles Stuart	1563	*Windsor Castle*	*Plate 15*
Lady of the Wentworth Family	1563	*Wentworth Castle*	
Lady with a horn-shaped head-dress	1565	*Wentworth Castle*	
Portrait of a Lady	1565	*Holyrood Palace*	
Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton	1566	*Earl of Ellesmere*	
Henry VIII (copy from an earlier portrait)	1567?	*Trinity College, Cambridge*	
Queen Elizabeth, with Juno, Minerva and Venus	1569	*Hampton Court*	
Portrait of a Lady	1571?	*Formerly Charles Butler Coll.*, bt. 1911 *E. E. Leggatt, Esq.*	
Sir Alexander Hyde	1578	*Sir W. Hyde Parker, Bart., Long Melford Hall*	
Lady Hyde	1578		

SIGNED PORTRAITS

Mary Nevill, Lady Dacre (from the costume c. 1555)	*Formerly Sir Thomas Barrett-Lennard, Bart.*	*Plate 16*
Joan Thornbury, wife of Richard Wakeman of Beckford	*Formerly Vernon Watney, Esq. Cornbury Park*	

SIGNED OR OTHERWISE AUTHENTICATED PORTRAITS
WHICH HAVE DISAPPEARED

Edward Shelley	*Mentioned in Lumley Inventory*
Anthony Kempe	*Recorded by Vertue as s. and d.* 1555
Bassingborne Gawdy:	
Anne Wooton, his wife	*Recorded by Vertue, the first signed and dated* 1557, *the second signed only.*

In these portraits, Eworth appears as a typical second-rate Flemish portrait painter, with some aptitude for combining character in the sitter with decorative arrangement. He was, however, always ready to adapt his methods to the dominant fashion of the time. In the portrait of Sir John Lutterell mentioned in the Lumley Inventory,[36] there appears, above the figure of the sitter, plunged breast-high in the waves, the figure of Peace carrying an olive-branch, accompanied by other female figures. These have a strongly Italian flavour, recalling in particular the work of certain sixteenth-century Florentines; and on this ground, the suggestion has been made that Eworth came under the influence of the Fontainebleau school. Italian elements in Eworth's work, however, are nothing more than the ordinary academic conventions of the Flemish painters of his day. That these conventions were part of his artistic equipment, to be used as occasion required, is made clear by the figures of the three goddesses in the painting of Queen Elizabeth at Hampton Court; and in a painting of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, signed and dated 1570, which is in the Copenhagen Gallery. In the greater part of Eworth's work, however, conventions derived from Italy played no part. The portraits fall into two main groups. In those dated before 1563, the influence of Mor is predominant; though the characterization is less vigorous than with Mor, the figures are stiffer and less solid, and the decorative detail is more laboured. Exceptional in Eworth's work is the imitation of Holbein in the portrait of
Plate 16 Lady Dacre, which came perhaps from an intention of painting a companion picture to the portrait of Lord Dacre, which appears in the left background. In Eworth's later work, the feeling for characterization grew weaker, and the elaboration of decorative detail more marked, until Eworth became a typical Elizabethan portrait painter, whose chief aim was to produce a striking costume-piece.

The great majority of Elizabethan portraits, indeed, are little more than standardized fashion-plates. Very popular was the full-length figure, standing stiffly erect on matting or carpet, a lay figure draped in clothing appropriate to the sitter's real or imagined importance — a sober gown for statesman, scholar and merchant, armour for the soldier, court-dress for the gallant and his lady. The rich ornaments and elaborate jewellery which give most of these portraits their sole interest, were probably nothing but stage-properties put in by the painter, who thus enabled his clients to indulge in an economical rivalry with Elizabeth herself, of whom a French envoy records that she "had never parted with a dress in the course of her life and that about three thousand hung in her wardrobes". Yet artistically contemptible as are the majority of these portraits, they have at least the virtue of being a distinctive creation of the age, a degradation of Flemish example which was also a native growth.

Under Elizabeth foreign artists continued to work and to settle in England. But they included no dominating personality such as Holbein and Mor; so that in due course they became absorbed into English life, and their art was moulded by English conditions. The influence of German portraiture definitely disappears, though traces of it survive in such portraits as those of Sir Charles and Sir George Somerset, dated 1566, in the collection of the Duke of Beaufort, which are related to the work of Flicke.[37] Something, too, of Holbein's psychological approach remains in the portrait dated 1579 of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, which is in the collection of Mr. Nicholas H. Bacon. But that approach has become heavy and lethargic; and though the portrait became the source of many versions, it is an isolated example of a type.[38] *Plate 17*

In contrast, Flemish influence was strengthened by the coming of a group of new artists mainly on account of the Alvan persecution in the Netherlands. As a direct result of this, Lucas de Heere, the poet-painter of Ghent, was in England from 1566 to 1576; Marc Gheeraerts the elder, of Bruges, came in 1568, and died apparently in England before 1599; while in 1552 Troilus de Critz, a Flemish ore-worker and broker, from whom descended two generations of painters, established himself in England.

Of the work in England of Lucas de Heere and of Marc Gheeraerts the elder, nothing certain survives. As already seen, the portraits signed HE, once attributed to de Heere, are now established as by Hans Eworth; and the

many other works in English private collections which bear de Heere's name have no resemblance to the little group of authenticated work by him at Ghent. Gheeraerts the elder was almost certainly responsible for an etching in the British Museum, dated 1576, of "The Proceeding of the Soveraigne and knights companions at the Feast of St. George in the 20 yeare of Queene Elizabeth", afterwards engraved by Hollar and reproduced in Ashmole's *History of the Order of the Garter*. There is the bare possibility, also, that the Welbeck Queen Elizabeth is by him; but, as will be seen later, the probabilities favour the son.

During the first half of Elizabeth's reign the one case in which a name can definitely be attached to a considerable body of work is that of Hans Eworth. Contemporary with him is another Fleming, whose personality is now in process of reconstruction. This is Steven van der Meulen, of whom the only certain works known at present are the portrait of John, Lord Lumley, dated 1563, and the companion piece of Jane Fitzalan, his first wife, both of which are at Lumley Castle, in the collection of the Earl of Scarbrough. These are described in the Lumley Inventory among the "pictures of a smaller scantlinge" as by Steven, who is also given as author of portraits of Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel, and of Lamoral, Count of Egmont, executed at Brussels, neither of which is known to have survived. Vertue mentions "Stevens, a painter who lived in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth", who painted portraits of the Lumley family; and that the Duke of Devonshire owned pictures "done by Stephens a painter". Walpole, followed by Sir Lionel Cust,[39] confused Steven with Steven van Herwijck the medallist (died London 1565-7) and with Richard Stephens, sculptor of the monument to Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, at Boreham. The researches of M. Victor Tourneur,[40] however, and of Dr. G. F. Hill[41] have identified him with Steven van der Meulen who was pupil of Willem van Cleve of Antwerp, was admitted as painter to the Antwerp Guild in 1552, was living in England in 1560, and was naturalized in 1562, after which year there is no mention of him in documents.

Plate 18
Plate 19

The portraits themselves hardly justify the description of their author in the entry of the Inventory relating to Lord Arundel's portrait, as "the famous paynter Steven". They evidently derive from Mor, and are related to the work of Eworth in his earlier phase; but they lack the vigour of the greater painter, and the decorative instinct of the lesser. They are, however, suffi-

ciently distinctive in character to justify attribution to the same hand as a portrait, supposed to be a Lord Despencer, which was formerly in the Holford collection, Westonbirt, and was there attributed to Gerlach Flicke.[42]

Mingled with renewed Flemish influence was that of Italy, partly transmitted through the school of Fontainebleau. Sotte Cleve had been employed by Francis I; Lucas de Heere spent some time in France; John de Critz and Cornelis Ketel (both of whom are considered later) worked in France, and the former in a letter to Walsingham refers to a proposed visit to Italy. Also, a channel for direct influence was opened by the visit of Federigo Zuccaro, the Roman painter, in 1574. The length of his stay is usually given as four years; but there is reason to believe it was considerably shorter. The tradition is that he painted a portrait of the Queen, and Walpole gives to him a number of other works, including some decorations in a chapel at Roehampton. But nothing exists which can be attributed to him with even a shadow of justification, save perhaps two portrait-sketches of Elizabeth and Leicester in the British Museum. The legion of flat, stiff costume-pieces, which ignorant custom labels with his name, have no relation whatever to the work by him in Venice and elsewhere, which is fluent, fully modelled, and in the main stream of Italian tradition.

To the end of the first half of Elizabeth's reign belongs the interesting portrait of the Queen acquired in 1925 by the National Portrait Gallery, London. *Plate 20* It represents her in the prime of life, with a facial character similar to that of the portrait at Siena in which she holds a colander, and the repetition thereof at Holyrood.[43] It is a delicate and distinguished piece of work, charming in colour; but it is impossible at present to connect it with the name of any known painter. Comparable in type and quality, with similar treatment of the features and costume, is a portrait now in the National Gallery, London, *Plate 21* from the National Portrait Gallery. This was at one time held to represent Mary Queen of Scots, and has been ascribed to the French School on the ground that it reproduces a smaller portrait in the Royal Collection which is attributed to Clouet. Both identification and ascription must, however, be considered doubtful.

Of English painters at work during this period, nothing is at present known. But in the second half of Elizabeth's reign, the number of pictures available for study increases, documentary evidence increases in bulk, and here and

there light appears in the shape of a signed work, so that some kind of tentative grouping becomes possible. But systematic investigation has only begun. For example, the group of work brought together by Sir Lionel Cust under the name of Marc Gheeraerts the younger is clearly by several hands, though as to their disentanglement there are often as many opinions as investigators.[44] The work of the resurrection man, however, inevitably finds limits in the fact that the bulk of the portraits of the period came from a few studios, headed by the leading painters of the period, each assisted by a group of apprentices and craftsmen. The existence of these picture-manufactories is indicated by the recurrence of tricks in the arrangement of the limbs, the hands, and the feet, and by the repetition of studio accessories such as cushions, curtains, and floor-coverings of a particular type. Their formation was also favoured by the growth of family connections. For example, the Gheeraerts, father and son, married daughters of Troilus de Critz, and so became brothers-in-law of John de Critz, who became Sergeant Painter; and a daughter of Gheeraerts the elder by his marriage was wife to Isaac Oliver, the miniaturist. Legal enactment moreover favoured studio organization. A draft proclamation assigned to 1563 forbade all painters and gravers to draw the Queen till "some speciall coning paynter" should make a portrait to be regarded as a "patron or first portraiture" for others to copy; and in a licence granted by the Queen to George Gower, appointed Sergeant Painter in 1581, he, his deputies, or his assignees were alone permitted to "make or cause to be made all and all manner of purtraictes of our person in oyle cullers upon bourdes or canvas or to grave the same on copper", all other persons being forbidden to do so "excepting only one Nichās Hilliard".[45] Painting, in these circumstances, was primarily a trade or craft, in the hands of a few professional groups. Probably several men cooperated in the production of a picture, as in the case of furniture pictures today: and it thus becomes almost impossible to identify a work as being by a particular hand. That the professional ring was not in entire possession of the field is, however, suggested by the probability that the above-mentioned George Gower was a man of good family entitled to bear arms. The fact that Gower's appointment as Sergeant Painter was for life, and that in 1596 one Leonard Fryer was appointed to that office, makes it probable that by that date Gower was dead. To him may
Plate 22 reasonably be attributed the self-portrait of an artist dated 1579, on the

ground that the shield resting in one pan of the scales on the left quarters the arms of Gower, of Yorkshire and of Stanesby (?) with those of another family, The portrait itself is a competent and undistinguished work, in which Flemish influence predominates. No other painting by Gower is known to exist; though a portrait of Thomas Sackville, created Baron Buckhurst in 1567 and later Earl of Dorset, in the Worthing Museum and Art Gallery, has points of contact with the self-portrait.

In the second half of Elizabeth's reign, also, the transformation of an imported Flemish style into one reflecting native tradition and temper becomes more evident. That lyric grace which has been an abiding characteristic of English art cast its spell over the matter-of-fact Flemish painters of the period, and sometimes gave their work a tender charm which that of their immediate forerunners lacks. This appears in the group of decorative portraits usually associated with Marc Gheeraerts the younger, though it is doubtful whether he was in fact their author. He was born in Bruges in 1561-62, and came to London with his father in 1568.[46] He may have been a pupil of Lucas de Heere; and possibly completed his training in the Netherlands. In 1590 he was settled in London and married Magdalena, daughter of Troilus de Critz and sister of John de Critz. He died in London in 1635-6. He was employed by the Court, but there is no evidence of his holding any official post, though he was apparently one of the most popular painters of the day. Nevertheless, authenticated work by him is rare. At present, the only known examples are:

1) The head and shoulders of a dead man, in the Kröller-Müller collection at the Hague, signed M. G. F. and dated 1607. *Plate 23*

2) The portrait of William Camden in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, painted some time after 1615, which bears an inscription concluding with the words MARCUS GHEERAEDTS PINXIT, but is a repainted wreck.

3) The full-length portrait of Elizabeth Cherry, Lady Russell, in the collection of the Duke of Bedford, signed MARCUS GHEERAERTS FEC. and inscribed on the back MARC GARRARD 1625. *Plate 24a*

4) The pendant to 3), a full-length of Sir William Russell, unsigned, but dated 1625. *Plate 24b*

Portraits for which there is a strong presumption in favour of the author-
Plate 26 ship of the younger Gheeraerts, are the Queen Elizabeth in the collection of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck, which is signed M. G. F.; and the Barbara
Plate 27 Gamage, wife of Sir Robert Sidney, and her Family, in the collection of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley at Penshurst, which is dated 1596 and by a letter from Sir Robert Sidney to his wife is established as by one of the Gheeraerts.

The doubt in both cases is whether the painter is father or son. The background in the Welbeck portrait is described by Walpole as "a view of the old fabric at Wanstead" where Elizabeth was entertained by Leicester in 1578. This has been taken as evidence of the date of the portrait, and as favouring Gheeraerts the elder being the painter; since the painting is evidently by an experienced hand, and in 1578 the son was only seventeen years old. On the other hand, Walpole's identification of the view in the background may easily be wrong, while the costumes and the oriental carpet point to a date of c. 1590. If this date is accepted the son's authorship is the more likely, since in 1586 the father contributed to the Guild at Antwerp, and is not mentioned in any English document after this date. For the same reason, probabilities favour the son having painted the group of the Sidney family. Van Mander, however, states that the elder Gheeraerts returned to England before his death; so he is not completely out of court as painter of the two pictures. The only other works for which there is evidence, other than stylistic, of their being by Gheeraerts, are the portraits of Sir Henry Savile, in the Bodleian, and of William Pope, First Earl of Downe, in Trinity College, Oxford, both of which owe their attribution to inscriptions on the back. That on the former has now disappeared, but included the words ANNO Dº 1621 MARCUS GARRET FECIT; that on the latter gives the sitter's name, the date 1624, and the signature MARCUS GHEERAE... BRUGIENSIS FECIT.[47]

It is evident, therefore, that the basis for further identification of work by Gheeraerts the younger is not very secure. The three portraits certainly by him belong to a comparatively late period in his career, as do the Savile and the Downe portraits. In all of these the modelling is full, and emphasis on decorative detail is subordinated to an effort to put the figure in space and atmosphere. None of them supports the ascription to Gheeraerts or his school of the multitude of flat costume-pieces of the later sixteenth century, constructed solely in terms of linear pattern and gay colour. In the Welbeck Eliza-

beth, and the Sidney Family, of earlier date than the other works, the linear emphasis is certainly greater, and the stress on decorative detail more marked; but even so, there is a considerable gulf between them and the work usually given to Gheeraerts.

Consideration of the authenticated work, moreover, even shakes confidence in the authorship of two of the most famous portrait groups of the period: the Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Blackfriars,[48] in the collection of Lt.-Col. F. J. B. Wingfield Digby and the Somerset House Conference 1604 in the National Portrait Gallery, London.[49] Both are entertaining works; but close examination brings no certainty that they are by the same hand, or that either of them is by the painter of the Welbeck Elizabeth, the nearest picture to them in the Gheeraerts group. It is not proposed here to attempt reconstruction of Gheeraerts' work, for which much material has been collected by Sir Lionel Cust.[50] But further additions to the catalogue given by him, of which Gheeraerts appears the probable painter, are a portrait of James I, in the collection of Mr. T. W. Bacon, and a portrait of a dead man in the Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne, at one time ascribed to Geldorp and now to Frans Kessler.

Plate 27

But if Marc Gheeraerts the younger presents a difficult problem, the case is worse with his contemporary, John de Critz.

The younger son of Troilus de Critz, he was born in Antwerp, came to England in 1567, and in 1571 was servant to Lucas de Heere.[51] In 1582 he wrote to Walsingham from Paris and proposed a visit to Italy, though whether he went is unknown. In 1603 he was made Sergeant Painter in reversion, Leonard Fryer then holding the office; and in 1605 was appointed to the post jointly with Fryer, with survivorship. He died in 1642. Documentary evidence of his activity as a painter is frequent. In 1582 he sends to Walsingham a St. John, and a Neptune and Coenis, perhaps his own work; from 1604 onward, payments for decorations on ships, tombs, coaches, and barges occur in the royal accounts; a ceiling from Oatlands, and a chimney-piece, both by de Critz, were sold among Charles I's works of art; in 1606 de Critz was paid for whole-length portraits of the King, Queen and Prince of Wales; and in 1607 he receipted a bill to the Earl of Salisbury, which specifies several portraits by him.[52] Yet none of these works is known to survive, nor have any signed paintings been found. But de Critz was evidently one of the leading

painters of his age, and by Francis Meres in the *Wit's Commonwealth* 1598, Part II, is bracketed with Hilliard and Isaac Oliver as "very famous for their painting". He, therefore, is a possible author of many unattributed or misattributed portraits.

Another and even more elusive problem arises with Isaac Oliver (1556?-1617), the pupil of Hilliard. As a miniature painter he is well known; but there is a possibility that he painted in oil on a larger scale. Walpole mentions as examples a Portrait of the Artist and his family; a Head of St. John the Baptist; a Holy Family; four heads at Wroxton, mentioned by Vertue as "having a little of the stiffness of miniature, though at the same time very neat"; Thomas Cavendish at Welbeck; and Sir Philip Sidney in the collection of Lord Chesterfield. At Charlecote are two portraits on copper of Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Sir Thomas Lucy, which have been said to have written evidence of Oliver's authorship.[53] Otherwise there is neither authoritative document nor signature to justify us in regarding Oliver as a painter in oil.

The foregoing pages illustrate the main difficulty in considering Elizabethan portraiture. Neither paintings nor artists' names are lacking; the problem is to establish connection between the two. The extent of painters' activity at the period may be judged from the following list of names, compiled from Meres' *Wit's Commonwealth,* Part II, 1598; Walpole's Anecdotes; the Lumley Inventory; and documents brought together by Dr. Shaw in the *Connoisseur,* XXI, 72 seq. Artists aleady mentioned have for the most part been excluded.

Arnolde	Meres
Bettes, John	Meres
Bettes, Thomas	Meres
Bruy, Jacques de	Meres
Cole, Peter	Meres
Cornelius	Meres
Davies, John (of Worcester, 1576)	Shaw
Dimond (at Oxford 1600)	Shaw
Fryer, Leonard	Sergeant Painter 1596-1605, then jointly with John de Critz
Garlicke	Lumley Inventory
Golchi, Peter	Meres
Herne, William	Sergeant Painter 1572-81
Hieronimo	Meres

Holland, John (of Wortwell, fl. 1586)	Walpole
Hubbert	Lumley Inventory
Kelynge (of Lichfield, fl. 1576)	Shaw
Ketel, Cornelis	Walpole
Lockie	Meres
Lyne	Meres
Mathewe, John	Shaw
Le Moyne or Morgues, J.	Walpole (from Hakluyt)
Peake	Meres
Pet	Meres
Rawson, John (of Northants, at Oxford 1600)	Shaw
Sampson	Shaw
Segar, Francis	Meres, and Lumley Inventory
Segar, William	Meres, and Lumley Inventory
Steven	Lumley Inventory
Twisden, Dr. John	Walpole
Vandevelde	Meres

Concerning these painters and their work, knowledge is only fragmentary. Of Arnolde, John Davies, Peter Golchi, William Herne, John Holland, Kelynge, Pet, Rawson, and Vandevelde, nothing is known but their names and the few details given above. The references to the Bettes family, and their possible significance, have already been discussed in connection with the portrait of Edmund Butts in the National Gallery. Jacques de Bruy may be a member of the de Bry family, to which belonged Theodor de Bry (1528-98) who worked in London. Peter Cole may be connected with Humfray Cole, the engraver, who flourished about 1572. Cornelius may be Cornelis Ketel, who will be discussed later. Leonard Fryer, according to Vertue,[54] had a picture in the Painters' Hall. Garlicke is Gerlach Flicke, whose career and work have already been considered. Hieronimo is Hieronimus Custodis, an Antwerp painter, who is mentioned in 1593 in the register of the Dutch Church in London. By him there are three signed portraits in England. One, of Sir John Parker, is at Hampton Court, dated 1589. Two more, of Elizabeth Bruges, Lady Kennedy, dated 1589, and of Giles Bruges, Lord Chandos, are in the collection of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn. In all these, Custodis reveals himself as a mediocrity little above sign painters' level. Hubbert is

Plate 5

Plate 28

mentioned in the Lumley Inventory as the painter of portraits of Thomas the third Lord Darcy of Chiche; of Sir John Hawkins, Treasurer of the Admiralty; of Mr. Edward Dyer; and of the second wife of John, Lord Lumley. All are among "pictures of a smaller scantlinge"; and none of them has so far been identified. To Nicholas or Rowland Lockey is attributed, on the authority of an engraving by Simon Passe after a portrait by Lockey, the portrait of Bishop King at Christ Church, Oxford, of which there are versions in Fulham Palace and in the National Portrait Gallery. The portrait, however, differs somewhat from the engraving, and may be a copy with variations. Lyne may be connected with Richard Lyne, the engraver, active in London 1574-5, who was employed by Archbishop Parker at Lambeth. John Mathewe, of Nottingham, was in 1592 paid for repainting some pictures for the Earl of Rutland. Le Moyne is mentioned by Hakluyt (Landonnière's *Voyage to Florida*) as follows: "Divers things of chiefest importance at Florida drawn in colours at the charge of Sir Walter Raleigh by that skilful painter James Morgues, some time living in the Blackfryars London, he whom Monsieur Châtillon then Admiral of France, sent thither with Landonnière for that purpose". The only known work of Robert Peake is the portrait of Charles I as Duke of York, in the University Library of Cambridge, whose authorship and date (1613) are established by the artist's receipt.[55] Peake was employed by the Earl of Rutland in 1598 and 1599. In 1609 he was painter to Prince Henry, and in 1610 became Sergeant Painter with John de Critz. He was the father of Sir Robert Peake, the print-seller, with whom Walpole confuses him. The Cambridge picture is a heavy, lifeless work entirely in the mode of the period, without such distinctive character as gives sure ground for further identification. Sampson is the Sampson Strong who found his chief occupation in manufacturing portraits of founders for Oxford Colleges.[56] He was a Dutchman, whose name was probably anglicized from Stark. He was born c. 1550, and is first mentioned as being in Oxford in March 1589-90. His first appearance as a painter is in connection with a payment of £6 from New College, for a portrait of the founder, William of Wykeham. Thenceforward, he appears as working for the City, and for other colleges, until his death in 1611. Surviving work by him includes the above-mentioned William of Wykeham at New College; a copy of the Richard Foxe by Corvus (see above, p. 12), at Corpus Christi College, dated 1604 and signed S. F.; a portrait of Henry Chichele, the founder, at

Plate 35 b

Plate 3 a

All Souls College, paid for in 1609; and two bust portraits of Wolsey, one at Christ Church, the other at Magdalen, which was paid for in 1610. As works of art, these portraits have nothing to recommend them, and as historical documents, little value; their chief value is as icons. William and Francis Segar are probably Sir William Segar, Garter King-at-Arms, and his brother Francis, one or both of whom have been suggested as responsible for the series of full-length portraits of John, Lord Lumley, and his ancestors, still at Lumley Castle. Steven is the Steven van der Meulen who has already been discussed. Dr. John Twisden died, according to Walpole, in 1588. Vertue mentions having seen a self-portrait by him, painted c. 1548, in oil on copper. Vandevelde is probably Paul Vandevelde, a Dutch painter living in the parish of St. Helen's Bishopsgate, mentioned in the registers from August 1603 to August 1617.[57]

Plates 18, 19

One of the few painters in the list whose artistic personality is reasonably clear is Cornelis Ketel. He was born at Gouda in 1548, and after a visit to Fontainebleau came to England in 1573, returning in 1581 to Amsterdam, where he died in 1616. Ketel painted not only portraits, but *doelen* pieces, and figure subjects. Recently, two paintings of religious subjects signed by him passed through a London saleroom. Of his work in England comparatively few examples are known. A portrait of the Queen which he painted in 1578 has disappeared. The earliest surviving works are the portraits of Sir Robert Tyrwhit and his wife, Elizabeth Oxenham, which were in the collection of Major Philip Hunloke, and were sold at Christie's on December 16th 1921, No. 37. These are signed and dated 1573. In the collection of Mr. I. de Bruijn, is a three-quarters-length portrait of a man painted on a small circular panel, on the back of which is represented a putto blowing soap bubbles, in allusion to the shortness of human life. On the face is the signature CK and the date 1574: on the back is CK. INV. AND PIN. In the Bodleian Library is a full-length portrait of Sir Martin Frobisher, signed C.K. F. and dated 1577; and in the collection of Mr. G. C. G. Leveson-Gower, is a three-quarters-length of William Gresham of Titsey, first cousin of Sir Thomas Gresham, signed C. K. F. and dated 1579. Of Ketel's later work in Holland, signed and dated examples exist in private collections in Amsterdam, and in the Castle Rohoncz collection, Hungary. In the work of his English period, Ketel reveals himself as directly descended from Mor, though more prosaic and less

Plate 29
Plate 30

accomplished in handling. In his later work, however, he develops a greyish tonality and the use of unfused loose touches, which in some degree anticipates the work of Hals.

Over against this list of painters may be set a number of portraits, whose quality is considerably above the general level of work at the time, but whose authorship is still undetermined. Among these, prominent examples are portraits of Sir Francis Willoughby, and of Elizabeth Littleton, his wife, in the collection of Lord Middleton, both of which are dated 1573.[58] These display a quite unusual precision and delicacy in drawing, especially in the heads. That of the male sitter, in particular, is given a notable solidity and vitality by the sensitive handling of the contours. More superficially attractive, but less remarkable, is a portrait of Sir Edward Hoby (afterwards favourite of James I) at the age of eighteen, which is in the collection of Lady Vansittart Neale and is dated 1578. German and French painters have both been suggested for this portrait. An attempt has been made to bring it into relation with the Portrait of a Lady once ascribed to Adriaen Crabeth in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich; but this is as unconvincing as the proposal to attach the picture to the School of François Clouet, on the ground that Hoby is known to have been abroad in 1578.[59] On the other hand, the modelling of the head and features is not dissimilar to that seen in contemporary work such as that of Gower; while the decorative arrangement and gay colour, in which black, white and gold on the costume and scarlet in the coat of arms are effectively contrasted with a pale green background, are well in the English miniaturist tradition.

Plate 31

Plate 32

Similar charm of colour marks the portrait of Sir Henry Unton, in the collection of Mr. E. Peter Jones, which is dated 1586. Here the main notes are scarlet, gold, black and white set on a grey background. The technique, however, is quite dissimilar from the Hoby portrait. The smooth enamel of the latter is replaced by the thin painting characteristic of contemporary Flemish work, which leaves the grain of the wood visible through the warm shadows. Yet here again, as in the Hoby portrait, the work falls within the English miniaturist tradition.

Plates 33, 34

The most remarkable of these unassigned portraits, however, are those of Sir Henry Nevill, in the collection of Mr. Nicholas H. Bacon, and of Edward Grimston in the collection of the Earl of Verulam. The Sir Henry Nevill[60] is

dated 1582, and came from Spixworth Park, Norfolk, as Sir Henry Wingfield by Holbein; but the ring on the sitter's finger, bearing the arms of Nevill quartered with those of Bacon, gave the clue to the sitter's identity. Nevill was privy councillor to Henry VIII and Edward VI, married the second daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and died in 1593 aged 75.

The Edward Grimston is dated 1590. It lacks the architectural background which is such a marked feature of the Sir Henry Nevill; but it is so closely related in other respects, notably in the modelling of the features, the treatment of the hair, the parchment tone of the flesh and the use of fine touches of white in the high-lights, as to be certainly by the same hand. Whose this was, it is difficult to say. No known painter of the period in England painted in the same way, or with similar mastery. Among painters abroad, Marten de Vos (c. 1531-1603) of Antwerp, may be suggested as a possibility. The male sitter in the portrait of Gilles Hoffman and his wife Marguerite van Nispen, in the Rijks Museum, which is signed and dated 1570, has marked similarities in the modelling of the features and the hands, and in the treatment of the hair. There is no record of de Vos visiting England; but there is no reason why Nevill and Grimston should not have been painted in Antwerp, where de Vos seems to have been settled after 1572 at latest. For Grimston especially, who spent much time abroad as an English political agent and spy, opportunities would have been frequent.

The foregoing survey of portraits and painters in the reign of Elizabeth does not encourage the hope of rediscovering any considerable native talent outside the miniature painters. At the same time, it may be reiterated that the foreign painters who were the leading figures of the period, such as Eworth and Gheeraerts the younger, absorbed something of the *genius loci,* and developed an art in which English characteristics were grafted on to a Flemish stem. With the coming of James I a new wave of Flemish influence entered England; and the conventions of Van Somer and, later, of Mytens, became the fashion. But the rebirth of English painting was not to be entirely frustrated a second time. A native tradition had been revived, sufficiently vigorous to survive even the overwhelming personality of Van Dyck.

THE STUART PERIOD

ENGLISH seventeenth-century portrait painting falls naturally into three classes. That produced before Van Dyck settled in England in 1632; the portraiture contemporary with and influenced by Van Dyck during the decade in which he was in England; and that which centres round and develops from Sir Peter Lely, between circa 1650, when Van Dyck's influence on Lely was spent, and the close of the century when Kneller, whose earliest English work was moulded on Lely, was supreme. The first of these three classes began, of course, in Elizabethan sixteenth-century portraiture, and the last merged with Georgian eighteenth-century work. But on the whole the classification of the century of English portrait painting as Stuart portrait painting is convenient and just.

The older painters in our first category, of whom we have enough knowledge to support precise attributions, are Marc Gheeraerts (also called Garret and Garrard) the younger (1561-1635) and Paul van Somer (1576-1621). Of these Gheeraerts, who was brought from Bruges to England in 1568 by his father Marc Gheeraerts the elder, is the more English in temperament. This consideration of distinctive temperament is important to a study of portraiture which was so closely connected with foreign influences. From the time of Holbein to that of Hudson and Hogarth there were incessant incursions of foreign painters into England from Germany, Flanders, Holland and even from France. In output and influence they outweighed the native artists, imposing on them their foreign styles and technique. It is not extravagant to say that with the exception of the miniaturists' technique there was no distinct English technique of painting. But beneath the crust of foreign styles and technique a native manner of perception, a native temperament persisted. This kind of element in a portrait may be defined with difficulty: but it is everywhere acknowledged.

Marc Gheeraerts, who has been dealt with in our earlier section, is the first conspicuous example of this English temperament in oil-portraits. His main characteristics are a quiet and sensitive rendering of character and a considerable, even minute, delicacy of technique: not only in elaborate detail of costume but also in his painting of heads. In his most characteristic work the lace, braid and jewelled ornaments are done with far more delicacy than we

find in either Van Somer or Mytens, and his sitters appear much more refined than those of the other two.

Paul van Somer is a less sensitive and more sophisticated painter. He is supposed to have been trained in Antwerp by his brother Bernard, who had travelled in Italy. Van Mander says that in 1604 he was established in Amsterdam. It has been conjectured that he came to England in 1606 in Christian IV of Denmark's train. An engraved portrait of Sir Simon Weston, after Van Somer's painting, bears the date 1608. So far as we know, the earliest portrait not unreasonably attributed to him is the Henry Prince of Wales (d. 1612) in the London National Portrait Gallery. We must however remember that the work of Robert Peake, painter to Prince Henry, has yet to be identified. This portrait is somewhat coarsely painted in the head and hands, while the costume detail is careful, dry and mechanical. A portrait at Ditchley called Lady Tanfield was seen by Vertue, about 1730, to have the date 1615: Vertue "guessed", not unreasonably, that Van Somer was the painter. The very deep bosom, the proportions and articulation of the hands, the treatment of detail and the landscape seem to connect this portrait closely with the signed and dated Anne of Denmark (1617), with her horse and dogs, at Hampton Court. Vertue saw and described a portrait of the Earl of Ancrum, signed and dated 1619, by which he was convinced that the portrait of Lord Bacon (at Gorhambury and at the Royal Society, London) was by Van Somer. His opinion has been endorsed by modern students. To the same year, I think, belongs the second portrait at Hampton Court of Anne of Denmark.[61] This and its pendant, James I with Inigo Jones's Banqueting Hall in the background, would be of this period.[62] Van Somer died in 1621. Compared with Gheeraerts he is a bolder and heavier executant with a more mechanical formula for costume detail, and a much less sensitive and charming sense of character. Compared with Mytens he is stiffer in pose and character and archaic in handling and modelling.

Plate 36

Plate 37

Of Daniel Mytens (1590-1642) we have more documented knowledge. Born probably at the Hague, he may have worked under Miereveldt and was certainly influenced by Rubens. In 1610 he was member of the Guild at the Hague, where he married, 1612. He may have come to England as early as 1614, though this is not certain. But the approximate dates of certain portraits, for example the Duke of Buckingham (c. 1614) and Sir Charles Cavendish

(ob. 1617)[63] both at Welbeck, which not unreasonably may be attributed to Mytens, seem to indicate that he was in England prior to 1618, the usually accepted date. On Van Somer's death in 1621 Mytens succeeded to the Court patronage. In 1625 Charles I appointed him Picture Drawer for life. Though Mytens' work during his first years in England has not yet been tabulated, we do not lack ample material for recognizing his hand from 1620 onwards. The Knole Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, signed and dated 1620[64], the National Gallery James, Marquess of Hamilton (1623), the Hampton Court
Plate 38 portrait of James, second Marquess of Hamilton (1622), the Greenwich Earl of Nottingham (c. 1619 or earlier), the Portrait of the Painter (c. 1625) at Hampton Court, the various portraits of Charles I (from c. 1625-1634), the
Plate 39 James, first Duke of Hamilton (1629), in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, all these clearly exhibit Mytens' style. In some his characterization is genial and urbane; in others he curiously forestalls Van Dyck in a stately and somewhat romantic portraiture. A typical instance of this is the Hampton Court Hamilton, painted ten years before Van Dyck settled in England. On the other hand, after Van Dyck's advent, Mytens seems deliberately to have
Plate 40 imitated him, as is seen in the Knole Countess of Middlesex.

This geniality of presentment and this courtly romantic air clearly distinguish Mytens' portraits from those of Van Somer. No less clear is the difference in their actual technique. In comparison Mytens' handling is loose and free; he draws with his brush, he suggests detail with a sort of impressionism, and at times employs a rich impasto. But most evident is his different conception of modelling and fusion; where Van Somer is somewhat stiff and archaic, Mytens is quite modern in his atmosphere, light and shade and rotundity. In considering Mytens' superior accomplishment we must note that he gained experience by copying Titian and Raphael's Cartoons in Charles I's Gallery. At Charles' request Mytens continued in England for at least two or three years after Van Dyck's more brilliant gifts were at the King's disposal. He died in the Hague in 1642.[65]

Contemporary with Mytens, but in his beginnings more akin to Marc Gheeraerts, is Cornelius Johnson (1593-c.1664), who is known also as Jonson and Janssen van Ceulen. The son of Cornelius Jansz of Antwerp, he was born in London and for a time was registered as Janssen: but his full signature is invariably Johnson or Jonson, even though, in his late years, after leaving

England, he added "van Ceulen". It is likely that Johnson was trained in England under Marc Gheeraerts; and he may have begun as a painter in miniature. His oil-miniatures are well known, and Mr. R. Goulding has seen at least one limning by him. We should expect his earliest independent work to belong to round about 1613 when he would have been twenty: so far, however, no signed or documented painting has been found prior to 1619.[66] But there is a considerable number of portraits which logically prelude his first established works. They are clear in colour, relatively primitive in modelling, smooth, even porcelain-like in texture. Their temperament is English, like that of Gheeraerts and Oliver, rather than that of Van Somer and Mytens. The next phase of Johnson's work shews the effect of Mytens. His heads become rounder and solid, and an atmospheric or fused quality is introduced. But in temper his portraits are inalienably English, the best and most characteristic having a peculiar and charming gentleness. It must be noted that this quality is not derived from Van Dyck, but is present in portraits painted before his arrival in England in 1632. Johnson's earlier portraits are painted on wood with the rather close and polished technique required for panel painting. Something of this high finish persists in his later canvas paintings. A minor point, sometimes helping the identification of his work, is his fondness for painting marbled or grained ovals round his portraits. Like Mytens, Johnson played a part in forming Van Dyck's English manner; for we cannot doubt that the difference between Van Dyck's typical English period and his Antwerp or Italian period lies in a change of temperament: a change to some extent communicated by the portraiture he found in England. Like Mytens, too, Johnson was subsequently influenced by Van Dyck. For a time, between 1630-1640, he seems to have lived at Bridge, near Canterbury. Many of his portraits are in Kentish houses. During this decade his best work was done, his most sensitive and refined in characterization, and subtle in execution. Examples are his Ralph Verney (1634), Lady Waterpark (1638) and Ireton (c. 1640). *Plates 45,46,47* His colour, always clear, is now at its most silvery. But later a brown tint becomes evident, and when in 1643 he left England he rapidly lost the poetic quality which makes his English portraits so attractive. He was in prolific practice for at least twenty-three years in England, so that the number of his portraits is considerable. His standard is unequal: but though sometimes his work is dull it is hardly ever scamped. He died in Holland c. 1664.[67]

Minor contemporary painters of whom little more than documentary records are known are John de Critz, who wrote from France to his patron Walsingham in 1582 concerning the supply of pictures; who in 1606 was paid for three whole-length portraits of James I, Anne of Denmark and Henry Prince of Wales; and who in 1607 recorded payment from the Earl of Salisbury for divers portraits. At this date he was Sergeant Painter. Then between the years 1627-1640 he received payments for work of a decorative nature, coach painting and gilding and the decoration of a barge. He died March 28th 1642.

Robert Peake (working c. 1598-1613) is documented by one portrait only: *Plate 35b* the Prince Charles in the University Library, Cambridge. He received payment for this, 10th July 1613. He is mentioned in H. Peacham's *Graphice* (1612) and in Meres' *Wit's Commonwealth* (1598). He was employed by the fifth Earl of Rutland in 1598-99, painting portraits of the Earl and of his wife. In 1609 he was painter to Prince Henry; and in 1610 was appointed Sergeant Painter, with John de Critz. In 1612-1613 he received payments for "3 several pictures drawn at the commandment of the officers of the Duke of York", and for "three several pictures" of the Prince. He is called the "Princes' Highness' Painter", which may signify that on Prince Henry's death in 1612 he became painter to Prince Charles.[68] The evidence of the one documented portrait by Robert Peake shows a painter nearer to Van Somer than to Marc Gheeraerts or Mytens. Finberg (*op. cit.*, p. 94) suggests a number of portraits, tentatively grouped round Van Somer, Mytens and Marc Ghee- *Plate 35a* raerts, which may be by Peake: among them is Captain Thomas Lee 1594. In this tentative way the series of portraits of the Duke of Brunswick's children, of c. 1608 at Hampton Court, should be borne in mind.[69]

Sir Nathaniel Bacon (1585?-1627), who is mentioned in Peacham's *Graphice,* *Plate 44* is best known by his self-portraits, of which the best is the full-length at Gorhambury; bust portraits are in the National Portrait Gallery and in Mr. Nicholas Bacon's possession.[70] Another full-length portrait, of Sir Thomas Meautys, a member by marriage of the artist's family, and still in the family's possession, might be tentatively attributed to him. He seems to have been an amateur rather than a professional artist, a travelled gentleman and an authority to whom collectors turned. Though less than twelve of his works, all told, are known today, an inventory of 1659, now in the Earl of Verulam's possession, includes "ten

greate peeces in wainscoate of fish and fowle etc. done by Sir Nath. Bacon". And in Vertue's notes (c. 1730) is a record of a Ceres and of a Hercules and Hydra connected with Bacon's name. It is evident in the full-length self-portrait that Bacon had used his travels to absorb Italian or Italian-Dutch influences. Compared with his contemporaries, Gheeraerts, Van Somer and Mytens he seems cosmopolitan. Indeed as a modest disciple of the Caravaggesque school Bacon was unique in England. The colour of his large self-portrait is unusual in English portraits — black, grey and strong yellow, and the execution is free and solid. Bacon's early death must be taken into account partially to explain the rarity of his work.

Gilbert Jackson (working c. 1615-1645) painted a number of Oxford University celebrities between the years 1622-1642. He also painted members of the Bacon family, men and women, and Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, *Plate 41* at Woburn. His earlier work is somewhat in Van Somer's style: his later is influenced by Cornelius Johnson.[71]

Johann Priwitzer, a Hungarian painter, was employed by Francis, fourth Duke of Bedford in 1627 to paint the Russell children. The most important of these seven portraits is that of Lord William Russell and his Dwarf, signed *Plate 42* JOHANNES PRIWIZER DE HUNGARIA FACIEBAT and dated 1627. On the evidence of these Russell portraits, two or three others[72] have been tentatively attributed to this painter, who somewhat resembles Cornelius Johnson in temper, though his colour is much gayer.

George Geldorp (painting c. 1610-1665) is better known as an agent than as a portrait painter. But documented portraits at Hatfield of William, second *Plate 43* Earl of Salisbury, and Catherine, Countess of Salisbury,[73] paid for in 1626, enable us to form some idea of his work, which in merit lies between Van Somer and Mytens. A portrait at Petworth of James Hay, second Earl of Carlisle,[74] may safely be assigned to Geldorp. It is to be noted that in 1651 Geldorp, in Lely's company, petitioned for a scheme of decoration of the Houses of Parliament.

William Dobson (1610-1646) is the principal painter in the second of our three classes of English seventeenth-century portraiture. He came of a good St. Albans family and is said to have studied first under Francis Cleyn, the designer of the Mortlake tapestries, and Robert Peake. But so far as his recognized portraits are concerned, the important part of his education lay in

Van Dyck's studio. How soon after 1632 Van Dyck was taking pupils and assistants we do not know. The earliest-dated Dobson at present known is the Knole Earl of Essex (1642),[75] to which in point of time the National Gallery Endymion Porter is related. These portraits are thoroughly accomplished, somewhat ruddy in flesh colour, with the large grain of the canvas used to give a broken quality to the texture. Smoother in grain and more polished
Plate 48 is the remarkable Sir Richard Fanshawe, perhaps painted at Oxford in 1644. This work, with its striking design and its colour-scheme of blue, black and white, is the most handsome portrait by Dobson known to us. His most poe-
Plate 49 tical and interpretative is the noble head of Sir Charles Cotterell at Rousham, to which is closely allied the portrait wrongly called Endymion Porter, loaned by the National Portrait Gallery to the National Gallery, London. These perhaps represent his final style. Of a different kind, and owing nothing to Van Dyck, is the interesting portrait in the Duke of Northumberland's possession,
Plate 50 said to depict "Old Stone and his Son". Lastly should be mentioned the Duke of Northumberland's group of Dobson, Cotterell and Gerbier, and the Drayton House Earl of Peterborough with his Page,[76] signed and dated 1644, in which Venetian influence is apparent. Dobson died in 1646, after only some six years of full activity. In his most characteristic work he is the most typical exponent of the English temper in seventeenth-century portrait painting.

A painter of Dobson's rank would in all probablity have had followers, if not his own disciples at least lesser painters revolving round the larger planet Van Dyck. There certainly was an English School of Van Dyck including Adriaen Hanneman, David Beke, Jan de Reyn, Theodore Rousel or Russel, who made copies in oil and pastel of Van Dyck and Lely portraits. There is too a certain number of portraits which can hardly be assigned to Dobson or Soest (with whom we shall soon deal) but yet are in his neighbourhood. So far only one name has been suggested for the identification of any of these border-line portraits. At Holkham a portrait of an Unknown Divine[77] has "F. How" written on a paper in the sitter's hand. There is reasonable ground for associating with this portrait the Dulwich Lovelace of circa 1645[78] and a
Plate 51 portrait of Jane Lane apparently signed "H... 166.?". These three works have been provisionally grouped together as by the painter of the Holkham Divine, whose name appears to have been F. How.

Other painters who may be placed in Dobson's neighbourhood are William Sheppard, working c. 1640-c. 1665, documented by the signed portrait of Thomas Killigrew, at Woburn, painted in Venice in 1650. *Plate 52*

Of much the same rank is Weesop, who according to Vertue came to England c. 1641, for a few years only. Many pictures by him, adds Vertue, pass for Van Dyck, and in his notes[79] he mentions a family group of Lord Wentworth, Earl of Cleaveland, as by Lely. This group by Weesop is in the Earl of Strafford's collection at Wrotham Park, Barnet. The likeness to Dobson of Weesop's portrait of Two Cavaliers at Boughton[80] is strong, though he is an inferior painter. Then there is the De Critz who painted a series of Tradescant portraits, a portrait of Oliver de Critz in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the National Portrait Gallery John Tradescant. These all seem to belong to c. 1645. Opinion is undecided whether this artist is Emanuel de Critz (born c. 1605, died 1665) who bought pictures from Charles I's collection; or Oliver de Critz (born c. 1625), whose name is inscribed on his portrait in the Ashmolean, with "a famous painter" added; or one Thomas de Critz who was mentioned to Vertue by a member of the family living in his day as brother to John de Critz II, Sergeant Painter (died c. 1644) and "a better painter". This Thomas and Emanuel were brothers, sons of John de Critz I, Sergeant Painter, who died 1642, by his first wife. Oliver was their step-brother, and by more than twenty years their junior.[81] *Plate 53 a, b*

At this point two painters who stand a little outside the main line we have been following may be discussed, Robert Walker and Isaac Fuller. Walker was born, we surmise, somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1600. His importance to English portraiture lies in his rendering of the Puritan type. His well-known and often-copied Oliver Cromwell is a typical instance of this interpretation, as is the John Hampden in the National Portrait Gallery. A quite different side of his art is exhibited in the documented portrait of John Evelyn the Diarist, at Wootton near Guildford. Quite opposed to Van Dyck in temperament, Walker none the less must be ranked among the painters who owed their technique to the Flemish master. From records and references we know that Walker copied Titians from the Royal Collection. His recognized pictures are relatively few: he is said to have died before 1660. A portrait of the Marquess of Hertford, dated 1656, at Syon House, presumably represents his last style. *Plate 54*

Isaac Fuller (c. 1610?-1672) owed little to Van Dyck save in a general way. In taking note of this painter's name we have to acknowledge that his reputation with his fellow artists and later with Vertue was more considerable than the few pictures at present recognized as his seem to warrant. We should therefore bear in mind a remark of Vertue: referring to some early portraits at Syon by Lely, he says that but for documentary evidence of Lely's authorship he would have attributed those portraits to Fuller or Dobson. This must mean that Vertue's conception of Fuller included a type of portrait similar to Lely's first Van Dyckian phase. So far we have no certain knowledge of such a type of Fuller portrait. Indeed our certain knowledge of this painter is confined to three self-portraits of c. 1670 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,
Plate 55 Queen's College, Oxford, and the National Portrait Gallery, to an engraved portrait of Cleaveland, the poet, and one slight "Head of a Girl" at Dulwich.[82] From these, which exhibit an unusually bold and vigorous technique, we may reasonably infer that if we are to identify Fuller's work we must look for analogous qualities which, though less pronounced, seem of a piece with his last phase. A good example of the kind of portrait that shows the qualities we re-
Plate 56 quire is the Matthew Lock (c. 1660) in the Examination Schools at Oxford. Here is the boldness of form, the simplification and basic dependence on line which we recognize as the salient characteristics of the self-portraits. Perhaps the best way to suggest the difference between Fuller's technique and that of Dobson or Lely is to say that he relied on line and linear accents somewhat as Hals did. Possibly his training under F. Perrier, a French engraver, was responsible for Fuller's linear bias. Another tentative ascription to Fuller needing further exploration is that of the so-called Sir Thomas Browne Family Group in the Duke of Devonshire's possession.[83]

We have briefly considered: 1) the English seventeenth-century portrait painters who preceded Van Dyck, and 2) his English contemporaries, influenced by him. In approaching our third class — the painters who centred round Lely — we have to bear in mind the continuity of Van Dyck's inspiration and tradition in Lely himself. Lely, who was born in 1618, came to England in 1641, a little before Van Dyck's death. There is no doubt that whatever his original style had been he very soon applied himself to assimilating the style of Van Dyck's English portraiture. So that his work of about 1645 onwards, for a few years, is closely based on his predecessor's. Striking

examples of this discipleship are Thomas Fanshawe and the Syon House James, Duke of York and Unknown Youth.[84] In such portraits we see him to a great extent expressing the romantic cavalier spirit of Charles I's Court. With the rise of the Roundheads to power a different mood became essential in portraiture. In place of elegance and courtliness an austere temper came over the portraits of the Commonwealth. Lely's Lady Bedel, c. 1650-1655, in Mr. Basil Fanshawe's Collection, typifies his adaptability to the new spirit. In the next decade, after the Restoration, Lely developed and combined what he had learned from Van Dyck in the way of courtly parade and what of severity and rugged power his study of the Puritan temper had evoked.

Plate 58

Plate 59

We see him in the first ebullience of the Restoration period when the baroque or rococo element in Van Dyck's later women-portraits had degenerated into a crudely sensual expression, producing almost mechanically the "Windsor Beauties" type of woman-portrait.[85] In such examples as the Hampton Court Comtesse de Grammont and Lady Byron he achieved the utmost finish consistent with the sensitive use of oil-paint: here he seems to have taken the smooth texture of Van Dyck's portraits of about 1635 for his model and to have surpassed it. Concurrent with these languorous and delicately smooth paintings were his series of Admirals, now at Greenwich. In the finest, for instance his Jeremy Smith, he expresses sombre power of character with a powerful and direct technique. His drawing is crisp and fluent, his planes are sculptural, and the freedom and fulness of his impasto, for example in the linen sleeves and ruffles, are those of a virtuoso.

Plate 63

Plate 61

Lely was more responsive to character than such a series as the Windsor Beauties at Hampton Court might suggest. For while he was content to paint the normal women of that Court more or less on one pattern, he would occasionally treat as an individual problem, worthy of special solution, some sitter of unusual character. Such a treatment is seen in the Unknown Lady at Compton Verney, in sky-blue and white, with ash-blond hair. Silvered blue and white was a favourite scheme with Lely, and in his preference for greys, pale honey, silvery browns and umbers, with rich wine-brown, amber and cinnamon, he was a superb and original colourist. His flesh colour is subtle with a sense of grey-violet or creamy grey just perceptible in the warmer tints; this broken quality of colour is never caught by his copyists.

Plate 60

Towards 1670 Lely's texture, especially in his male portraits, becomes loo-

ser and more atmospheric, foreshadowing his final technique. The National Gallery Van Helmont of 1671 is characteristic. One of his finest male portraits is the Windsor Castle Baptist May of c.1675, masterly in handling, dignified and courtly in interpretation, with an insight rare in Lely's earlier days. Later still is the National Portrait Gallery George, second Duke of Buckingham: here we see his final technique in which contours are subjected to a new perception of light and atmosphere.

Plate 63

Lely had a large studio: the most active figure in it was Willem Wissing (1656-1687). After Lely's death in 1680 this assistant developed a large fashionable practice, but as a painter he may be said to have had no independent existence. Other names known in connexion with the Lely shop are Hugh May, Sonnius, Lankrink, Tilson, Blanchard, Baptist, Hawker, Davenport and Buckshorn. Remigius van Leemput, an independent copyist, boasted that he could make a better copy of Lely than Lely could himself.

Stuart portrait painters centring round or influenced by Lely should be divided into two groups: 1) those contemporary with Lely's first period in England (1640-1660) and 2) the younger generation.

In the first group fall John Hayls (c.1600-1679), Gerard Soest (c.1605-1681) and Joseph Michael Wright (1625?-1700). John Hayls or Hales is mentioned in R. Symonds' Notebook of 1651, apparently written in Rome,[86] as having learnt from Miereveldt in Holland. In Sanderson's *Art of Painting* (1658) he is listed with Lely, Wright, Sheppard, Walker and Soest as a painter of fame in England. We can form an opinion of his earlier work from two portraits at Woburn, Colonel John Russell (c.1645) and the Ladies Diana and Anne Russell (c. 1655).[87] These prove that Hayls developed from the Van Dyck-Dobson tradition of English portraiture. His temper is distinctly English. Evidence as to Hayls' later development under Lely's influence occurs, also at Woburn, in the Sir Greville Verney (c. 1665). Further references to Hayls are found in Pepys' Diary from 15th February 1666 to 5th September 1668. From these we know that Hayls painted Mrs. Pepys "like a St. Catherine", Pepys himself, Pepys' father and Harris the actor. The best portrait of the Diarist is still in that family: two others are known, one in the National Portrait Gallery, the other in the Clothworkers' Hall. The two last are much inferior to the Sir Greville Verney.

Plate 57

Gerard Soest (c. 1605-1681) is far more important: indeed he is becoming

recognized as one of the most interesting portrait painters of this period. Weyermann (quoted in Wurzbach) states that a certain J. van Soest of good Westphalian family came to England in 1644 and was John Riley's master. Gerard Soest was Riley's master and there is a portrait of Sir John Brownlow by him, at Belton, dated 1644. Typical of his early phase is the double portrait at Welbeck of John, second Earl of Bridgewater, and his wife. The Earl was born 1622 and his apparent age in the portrait would date it c. 1646-7. *Plate 69*

Attention should be paid not only to the temper and the types of head and hands, but also to the large flat planes of the draperies. Soest's characteristic draperies are there, with voluminous folds and a silky metallic sheen, quite different from Lely's. As regards the temper and types of the heads, it should be borne in mind that only in Soest's early period are the gentleness and refinement of this Lady Bridgewater seen. In this refined gentleness he comes close to Cornelius Johnson and Dobson, so that it is not surprising that for many years the double portrait in the National Portrait Gallery of Lord Fairfax and his wife was accepted as by Dobson.[88] In this connexion the Dulwich Gallery Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, must be mentioned.[89] So sensitive and English is its characterization that formerly it was tentatively attributed to Samuel Cooper the miniaturist, in the hope that it might be an example of his (hypothetical) work in oils. Its place in Soest's *œuvre* was then recognized. Another notable quality in Soest in his earlier phase is his fondness for bright colours in his draperies — light blue, gold-yellow and fawn. A more sober range of colour accompanied the Puritan régime, together with a change of temper, analogous to the change which, as we have seen, took place in Lely's portraits. Compared with the somewhat romantic temper evident in his first portraits, those of Soest's Commonwealth time, 1650-1660, are severe and heavy. But he always retained his fondness for ample draperies with larger and flatter planes than those of Lely. *Plate 71*

In Sanderson's *Art of Painting* (1658) Soest is mentioned as a prominent painter in England. There seems no doubt that in the main he concentrated on men's portraits. Vertue repeats a tradition that Soest was too boorish to attract women sitters. Certainly his best works are his male portraits of the 1660's, for example the Dr. Denton at Claydon House,[90] the Sir George Howard (sold in London as a Lely), the Dublin self-portrait and the Major Salwey.[91] In these he evidently is following Lely's lead: so much so that *Plate 70*

confusion occurs between his and Lely's work. But to the close observer there is always a different temper in Soest's heads, a different and redder scheme of colour, and a different type of hand. After 1670 his quality declines. An example of his late manner is the Samuel Butler in the Bodleian Library.

We have classed Joseph Michael Wright (1625?-1700), the Scots painter, with those centring round or influenced by Lely. To some extent this is correct, but it must be added that in no work does Wright attempt to reproduce the temper or technique of Lely. His portraits would never be seriously confounded with Sir Peter's. Wright is supposed to have studied first in Scotland, under Jamesone, to have come to London when about seventeen, and to have gone on to Florence and Rome. In 1648 he was admitted to the Academy of St. Luke in Florence, and later to the Academy in Rome. He was still in this city in 1651, when Richard Symonds alludes to him in his Notebook.[92] He was in England in time to bid for pictures sold by the Commonwealth from the Royal Collection, the sale lasting from 1649-1653. In 1658 Sanderson speaks of him as a famous painter in England, and Evelyn in his Diary, 5th April 1659, calls him "the famous painter". To this year belong the earliest signed and dated portraits yet recognized as by him, the Elizabeth Claypole, Cromwell's daughter, in the National Portrait Gallery, and the Colonel Russell of Ham House. Of this type is the Sir Robert Dormer at Rousham.[93] The general effect of these early men-portraits is grey and atmospheric, with pale rather anaemic colours in the draperies. Similar atmosphere characterizes the Thomas Chiffinch in the National Portrait Gallery. In his next period we find such distinguished portraits as Lionel Fanshawe and the Charles II in St. James' Palace,[94] formerly attributed to Pieter Nason. In this time too he painted the first of his two series of Judges' portraits for the Guildhall, London (c. 1661-65): a considerable number of these two series is preserved. In 1665 he painted, signed and dated the Sir William Bruce in the National Gallery, Edinburgh.[95] The lively Sir Willoughby Aston, almost French in inspiration, is dated 1669; this is typical of Wright's most personal and independent style. His best women-portraits are the Mrs. Margaret Herbert at Claydon[96] and Lady Aston, both of c. 1665-69. To 1672 belong: The Hon. Elizabeth Browne,[97] and Prince Rupert at Magdalen College, Oxford.[98] About now, till 1675, Wright was painting his second series of Judges, in the Guildhall, London. They represent his declining style. In 1686 he went to

Plate 64

Plate 65

Plate 66

Rome, and a portrait of Lord Castlemaine and his secretary, the latter Wright himself perhaps, now at Powis Castle, is typical of the brown key and smooth execution of his final period.

Crayon portraits, as distinct from working drawings such as Lely's, are relatively few in the Stuart period. Michael Wright may have practised in this medium, but we have no certain evidence. Walpole states that Edmund Ashfield, whose crayon portraits round about 1674 are well known, was Wright's pupil, and Lutterell's master. His name occurs in the treatise on limning, attributed to Norgate (British Museum, Harleian Mss. 6000), as a master in the art of crayons. But nothing certain is known of Ashfield's work except from a few drawings dated 1673, 1674 and 1675. In these we recognize a blend of Lely's and Michael Wright's influences. In its present excellent condition the Duke of Lauderdale, 1674-5, at Ham House, is much more finished and more tightly handled than the others. But it must be remembered that crayon drawings suffer easily from rubbing, so that what now seems looser and slighter in handling may once have been close and polished. On the other hand the drawing of Sir James Oxenden, 1674, must always have been freer than *Plate 67b* the Lauderdale, though but one year separates them. Neither date nor signature occurs on the finest of Ashfield's at present known portraits, that of an Unknown Man in armour in the British Museum. It must, however, be of *Plate 67a* much the same date. In it Wright's influence, especially in vision or characterization, and in a feeling for atmosphere, is most evident.

Walpole, and Waagen after him, described portraits of Lady Herbert (or Pembroke) and Lady Warwick at Burleigh. These portraits are small copies after Van Dyck, whether by Ashfield or not being uncertain, unless documentary proof exists. No original oil-portrait by Ashfield seems known. A few drawings of women by him are preserved: for example Lady Oxenden, 1673, and Frances Viscountess Downe, 1675, both in private possession. They indicate that he was more successful with male than female portraiture.[99]

In the Diary of Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, July 30th, 1709,[100] mention is made of a portrait of the "Duke of Ormond... by one Ashfield" from the original by Lely, and of a picture of Duns Scotus by Ashfield "from his own invention". The Duke of Ormonde is now in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford. The Duns Scotus, a life-sized three-quarters-length, in oil, apparently acquired from Ashfield in 1670, is in the Bodleian Gallery.[101]

As pastel portraits are really outside the scope of this review of English seventeenth-century portrait painting, only brief mention can be made of *Plate 68* T. Thrumton, whose signature and the date 1667 occur on a pastel of an Unknown Youth in the Ashmolean Museum. The drawing is on buff paper, in red and black chalk. On the back of the sheet, in black, red and white chalk, is a head-and-shoulders portrait of Mary Carleton alias Moders, notorious as the "German Princess".[102]

Edward Lutterell, the engraver and crayon draughtsman, also executed pastel portraits. The earliest, of about 1688, is Archbishop Sancroft in the National Portrait Gallery.

In 1694 Evelyn notes in his diary (August 4th) a group of children "in crayon on copper by Mr. Lutterell".[103]

Of Lely's junior contemporaries, who compose the second group with which we are now dealing, Jacob Huysmans, John Greenhill, Mary Beale and John Riley are the most important because they have distinct personality.

Jacob Huysmans (1633?-1696) was born in Antwerp and is said to have been apprenticed to Frans Wouters. He came to England shortly after the Restoration and soon secured court patronage. The Queen seems to have preferred him to Lely. In 1664 Pepys went to "see some pictures at one Hiseman's, a picture drawer, a Dutchman which is said to exceed Lilly". Huysmans (or Houseman, as he was spelt by his contemporaries) eventually succeeded in so closely approximating to Lely that some of their work is usually confused: especially their court portraits. But in portraits such as the Natio- *Plate 73* nal Portrait Gallery Isaac Walton, the Royal Collection Frances Duchess of Richmond in man's dress, and the Mrs. Cooper at Bratton Fleming, Huysmans expressed a distinct individuality in a distinct technique. As a rule his flesh colour is warmer than Lely's, and less subtle, and he often uses a red outline: on the other hand his colour at times so nearly approaches Lely's, especially in silvery half-tones, that it is easy to confuse their work. On the whole, however, Huysmans is less solid in structure, less free and painter-like, and, especially in his hands, inferior in draughtsmanship. He painted many portraits of Catherine of Braganza, Charles II's Queen, and of James Duke of York and Catherine Hyde, his duchess. His best work was produced before 1670: his later practice seems to have been mainly in portraits of children, in a rococo vein. A typical example is the Coke Children at Melbourne Hall.[104]

John Riley (1646-1691) is distinct by training and temperament from the other painters in this group. His master was Gerard Soest and his temper was rather that of a Puritan such as Robert Walker than of a Cavalier or Restoration courtier. It is true that in his later work he soberly and somewhat awkwardly endeavoured to catch the Lelyesque mode: but he was more suited to grave and introspective portraiture than to popularly attractive work. He is said to have been apprentice to both Gerard Soest and Isaac Fuller, but though in his palette we can see a link with Soest it is not easy to recognize any connexion with Fuller, of whom, as has been indicated, we know but little. A good example of Riley's earlier, though not earliest, work is the William Chiffinch in the National Portrait Gallery, and at Dulwich. Here we see the reflexion of Soest's training in the warm clear colour, and the essence of Riley's sombre and retiring temperament. It is probable that he painted Chiffinch in 1680, after Lely's death, and to paint this prominent instrument in Charles II's Court was worldly advancement. Already Riley was sufficiently established to be head of a studio, so that we may calculate that he had been in practice for some ten years. Examples of his earliest work are in all probability John Owen, Harbottle Grimston and Sir William Dugdale, all in the National Portrait Gallery. After his success with Chiffinch (there are five known versions) Riley painted Charles II and the Queen; but Charles II's comment on his portrait, "Odd's fish, then I am an ugly fellow", may be taken as an indication that Riley was unlikely to go far as a court painter.[105] His true *métier* was serious interpretation, and in the National Portrait Gallery Lord William Russell (d. 1683) and the Syon House Duke of Lauderdale *Plates 76, 77* we recognize his gift. In an age when little more than parade and superficial attraction was usual in portraiture, in England or on the continent, these thoughtful and penetrative works are conspicuous. As if he recognized his unfitness to shine as a popular painter, Riley seems to have attempted to compromise with the world by taking into partnership Johann Baptist Closterman (1660-1711). Whatever the immediate gain may have been in worldly success, the artistic result was regrettable. Closterman had a coarse flamboyant ability and no character perception. We must strictly separate Riley's partnership productions from those of his own hand and inspiration. There seems no doubt that they collaborated in some pictures and that on Riley's premature death, aged forty-five, Closterman completed his unfinished commissions.

Turning now to John Greenhill and Mary Beale, we come to the young generation which sprang direct from Lely's studio.

Greenhill (1644?-1676) was born in Salisbury, where he probably began to paint in a provincial way. He came up to London, to Lely's studio, soon after the Restoration. His early immature work, of small account, can be studied in the Dulwich Gallery; while some are Lelyesque, others are more like Soest or Riley.[106] But Lely was the ruling influence in his work, technically and so far as possible temperamentally. None the less Greenhill was not always able to overcome entirely his native temperament, so that we are conscious of the Englishness underneath the Lely surface. Typical examples of
Plate 74 Greenhill, who died aged only about thirty-two, are the Greenwich Captain Clements (c. 1673), the Earl of Shaftesbury at St. Giles's house,[107] and the
Plate 75 Sir James Oxenden in Lady Capel Cure's possession. He also painted Lock in his most Lelyesque style. Greenhill also etched and worked in crayon and pastel: a charming engraved portrait of Philip Woolrich (engraved F. Place) was made, apparently, from a drawing by Greenhill.[108]

Mary Beale (1633-1697?), *née* Cradock, was born at Barrow, near Bury St. Edmunds. Her father was the rector of that parish. She seems to have begun painting in Suffolk. In 1651 she married Charles Beale. Sanderson mentions her in his *Art of Painting* (1658) among the women painters well known in England. Her serious education lay in copying Van Dyck's and Lely's portraits. Her chief clients were the clergy. Her husband kept diaries in some of which he recorded her sitters, her money-takings, her technique and so on. For evidence of her best personal style and characterization we have the Dorothea Fanshawe of c. 1665-70, still in the Fanshawe family[109] and the
Plate 78 Unknown Youth (c. 1685) at Hardwick Hall. Mary Beale's portrait drawings, many in red chalk, are numerously represented in the Print Room of the British Museum.[110]

Although nearly half of Kneller's activity in England lay in the eighteenth century, no study of portraiture in that country in the seventeenth century could exclude him. Born in 1646, trained apparently in Holland (tradition says by Ferdinand Bol) and in Italy, studying in Rome, Naples and Venice, he came to England in 1674, six years before Lely died. He was not long in getting an introduction to the Duke of Monmouth, whose portrait (now in the Duke of Buccleuch's possession) he painted. It is a strange fact that in the portrait of

the Duke no trace of any foreign training is evident. Instead we find in this and all the work of his first years in England submission to Lely's style. Thus it is right to regard Kneller at this period as the termination of the tradition started in England by Van Dyck. This tradition had been metamorphosed into the Lely vogue, and now it was gradually changed into the Knelleresque. In the next century the last ripples of Kneller's style appear in Hogarth and even in the first raw styles of Reynolds and Gainsborough. Perhaps no painter of Kneller's accomplishment has been responsible for so many inferior works. But we are concerned here rather with his best work, produced in the seventeenth century. As Lely in the 1660's, so Kneller in the 1690's was commissioned to paint a set of the Ladies-in-Waiting. These now hang at Hampton Court. We should not expect every portrait in such a series to be a masterpiece: but among them we find three or four of a high standard, e. g. Lady Middleton and Margaret Cecil, Countess of Ranelagh.

Here we see Kneller independent of Lely, dealing with his commission in a different spirit from that of the Restoration. Under William and Mary there was no call for the seductive aim which animated Lely's set of Charles II's women. Instead, Kneller set himself to produce a dignified series of respectable and sometimes handsome ladies. The best of these portraits are painted soundly and easily, with a lighter touch than Lely's, with indeed a different idea of pigment and its uses. Van Dyck in his last English phase had reached a light and fluent technique with which he could work quickly. He used oil paint then much more thinly and liquidly than in his Antwerp and first English periods. Lely based his technique on Van Dyck's earlier English pattern, and he never developed a lighter thinner method. Kneller's first period shows a similar solidity and weight of pigment; but later he, like Van Dyck, came to rely on a swifter system of paint with more medium in his brush. This system developed his draughtsmanship. Gainsborough's yet more liquid technique can be traced back to Kneller's. Readily accessible examples of Kneller's accomplishment are in the National Portrait Gallery, e. g. The Earl of Romney, in the National Gallery and the Nottingham Art Gallery. *Plates 80, 82*
But in none of these collections are there portraits so fine as the Welbeck William, first Duke of Portland (1697),[111] the Charterhouse Thomas Burnet *Plate 79*
(1693) and the Young Man in a private collection. These hold their own *Plate 81*
with, if indeed they do not actually surpass, any portraits of that period.

NOTES

1] Reproduced in *Exhibition of Early English Portraiture*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1909, Plate 4.
2] Reproduced in *Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue*, 1909, Plate 2.
3] WALPOLE, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 1876 ed., I, 60.
4] *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, II, p. 263.
5] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 213.
6] *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early English Portraiture*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1909, No. 28. *Archaeologia*, XXXIX, p. 49.
7] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
8] MRS. POOLE, *op. cit.*, II, xi, quoting *Publications of the Huguenot Society*, volume VIII.
9] V. post. and cf. BALDASS, *Joos van Cleve*, 1925, p. 4.
10] *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Catalogue*, 1909, p. 45. POOLE, *op. cit.*, II, p. x.
11] *Burlington Fine Arts Club, op. cit.*, p. 45, Plate 8.
12] WALPOLE portmanteaus the two into Gerard Luke Hornebaud.
13] Cf. *Burlington Fine Arts Club, op. cit.*, p. 48.
14] Quoted by WALPOLE, *op. cit.*, I, 61.
15] RYMER, quoted by WALPOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
16] WALPOLE, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
17] For a full account of his work with reproductions see MARY HERVEY, *Burlington Magazine*, XVII (1910), pp. 71, 148.
18] Published in EDITH MILNER, *Records of the Lumleys*, 1904: and in the *Walpole Society Annual*, Vol. VI.
19] Reproduced in HERVEY, *Burlington Magazine*, XVII, p. 148.
20A] Reproduced in *The Connoisseur*, XLV, pp. 163-4.
20B] Reproduced in HERVEY, *Burlington Magazine*, XVII, p. 72.
21] Reproduced in *Burlington Fine Arts Club, op. cit.*, Plate 20.
22] Reproduced by CUST, *Burlington Magazine*, XIX, pp. 738-9.
23] *Burlington Fine Arts Club, op. cit.*, p. 58.
24] *Burlington Fine Arts Club, op. cit.*, p. 58.
25] *Op. cit.*, p. 135.
26] Reproduced in *Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue*, 1909, plates 11 and 16.
27] Reproduced on p. 85, *Principal Pictures in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, 1912.
28] Reproduced in *Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue*, 1909, Plate 5.
29] Reproduced in *Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue*, 1909, Plate 19.
30] Reproduced in *Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue*, 1909, Plate 9.
31] Ed. R. L. POOLE, Oxford, 1902.
32] BALDASS, *Joos van Cleve*, 1925, p. 4.

33] L. Cust, M. Hervey and R. W. Goulding in *Walpole Society Annual*, III, p. 113 sqq.

34] Walpole, *op. cit.*, I, p. 136.

35] This is the picture described in "A true Inventory of the Pictures now remaining at Hampton Court viewed and approved the 3, 4 and 5th of October 1649" made at the time of the sale: "257 King Edward the 6th att length by Hans Huert. Sold Mr. Latham etc. in a dividend as aprised 23 Oct. 1651, £ 20".

36] Reproduced in *Walpole Society*, II, Plate 4.

37] Reproduced in *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Illustrated Catalogue of Late Elizabethan Art*, 1926, Plates 3 and 4.

38] Among these versions may be mentioned those at Petworth, Gorhambury, Trinity College Oxford and Ramsden Hall (T. W. Bacon, Esq.).

39] *Walpole Society Annual*, VI, 19.

40] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1922, p. 91.

41] *Walpole Society Annual*, XI, p. 29.

42] Holford Sale, Christie's 1928, No. 102, bought by Leggatt. Reproduced in *Catalogue of the Holford Collection, Westonbirt*, Plate 54.

43] Cf. Milner, *Burlington Magazine*, XLVI, p. 167.

44] *Walpole Society Annual*, vol. III, pp. 9 sqq. and cf. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters;* and Finberg, *Walpole Society Annual*, vol. IX, pp. 89 sqq.

45] See *Cotton MSS*, IV, 26, printed in *Notes and Queries*, first series, VI, 237.

46] See Mrs. Poole, *Walpole Society Annual*, Vol. III, pp. 1 sqq.

47] Poole, *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, III, p. 124. with reproductions.

48] For a full analysis and description see the Earl of Ilchester, *Walpole Society Annual*, IX, p. 1 sqq.

49] Reproduced in *National Portrait Gall. Illustrated List of Portraits* 1928. Frontisp.

50] See *Walpole Society Annual*, III, p. 22 sqq.

51] For these and other details see Mrs. Poole, *Walpole Society Annual*, vol. II, p. 45 sqq.

52] Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, p. 1.

53] Cf. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, p. 19.

54] British Museum, Add. MS. 23070, f. 41.

55] Finberg, *Walpole Society Annual*, IX, pp. 89 sqq., with reproduction.

56] See Poole, *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, II, p. xiii, from which the following facts are derived.

57] *Harleian Society Registers*, vol. XXXI.

58] Reproduced in *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Late Elizabethan Art*, 1926, Plates 6 and 7.

59] Cf. MILNER, *Connoisseur*, Dec. 1922, p. 211.

60] We are indebted to T. W. BACON, Esq., for drawing attention to this portrait, and for the information which follows.

61] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 32.

62] The background may be a later addition, since the Hall was not completed till after Van Somer's death. But it is easily conceivable that he could have produced his background from Jones' elevation. These portraits appear in the manuscript inventory of Charles II's collection, under Van Somer's name.

63] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 24 and p. 72.

64] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 38.

65] See C. C. STOPES, *Burlington Magazine*, XVII, pp. 160-163.

66] FINBERG (*Walpole Society*, Vol. X, "*Chronological List of Portraits by Cornelius Johnson*" p. 5) suggests that a portrait of Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, dated 1616, is an earlier work. Other suggestions for earlier pictures are made by COLLINS BAKER, *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, pp. 77-80. But there is no certain proof.

67] See A. J. FINBERG, *Walpole Society*, Vol. X, "*Chronological List of Portraits by Cornelius Johnson*".

68] See C. C. STOPES, *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, p. 281.

69] See A. J. FINBERG, *Walpole Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 89-95, "*An authentic portrait by Robert Peake*".

70] See *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Late Elizabethan Art, Catalogue*, 1926, pp. 34, 98, 99, Plates 44-47.

71] See *Oxford Historical Portraits, Catalogue*, 1905, Nos. 26, 32, 45; *Burlington Magazine*, XX, pp. 38, 43; XXI, pp. 169-170.

72] *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, see illustrations, I, p. 62.

73] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 66.

74] *Petworth, Catalogue*, 1920, p. 48.

75] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 92.

76] Reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, LII, p. 94.

77] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 104.

78] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 98.

79] Add. MSS. 23069, p. 20, British Museum.

80] C. H. SCOTT, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Boughton House*, 1911, Nos. 113, 114.

81] See R. L. POOLE, *Walpole Society*, II, "*An outline of the History of the De Critz Family of Painters*".

82] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 128.

83] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 126.

84] Reproduced in *The Connoisseur*, LV, pp. 5, 6.

85] Typical examples are reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, pp. 8, 142, 148.
86] Add. MSS. 23069, p. 18, British Museum.
87] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, pp. 130, 132.
88] So accepted in *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, I, pp. 95, 97, 99, 100; II, p. 116 (8).
89] See *Burlington Magazine*, XXXV, pp. 150-155.
90] See *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 206.
91] *Burlington Magazine*, XXXV, pp. 150-155.
92] Add. MSS. 23069, p. 18, British Museum.
93] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 182.
94] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 188.
95] Reproduced in Caw, *Scottish Painting*, 1908, p. 14.
96] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 190.
97] *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 194.
98] *Oxford Historical Portraits*, Catalogue, 1905, pl. XII.
99] See Collins Baker, *Walpole Society*, III, pp. 85-87.
100] *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, edited by the Oxford Historical Society, II, pp. 227-28.
101] See C. F. Bell, *Walpole Society*, V, p. 6; R. L. Poole, *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, 1912, I, pp. 3, 133.
102] See C. F. Bell, *Walpole Society*, V, pp. 6-8.
103] For a chronological arrangement of his mezzotints and pastel portraits, see C. F. Bell, *Walpole Society*, V, pp. 9-17, and for drawings by Faithorne, Loggan, White and Forster, C. F. Bell and R. L. Poole, *Walpole Society*, XIV, pp. 44-80.
104] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, I, p. 216.
105] A version of the Charles II portrait is in the Ashmolean Museum.
106] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, II, pp. 6, 8.
107] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, II, p. 8.
108] See *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, II, p. 8.
109] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, II, p. 38.
110] A large number of foreign painters worked in England for brief periods: their transient appearance here hardly qualifies them for a place in this summary of English portraiture. The best of such migratory artists, whose portraits in English houses seem to indicate at least a visit to England, are Pieter Nason and Pieter Borsseler. Some account of English portraits by Nason is found in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, II, pp. 1-3, and such Borsseler portraits as have been traced in England are reproduced in *The Connoisseur*, LXIV, pp. 5-15.
111] Reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Painters*, II, p. 86.

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I

UNKNOWN

Henry VII.

London, National Portrait Gallery

2

UNKNOWN

Lady Margaret Beaufort.

London, National Portrait Gallery

3

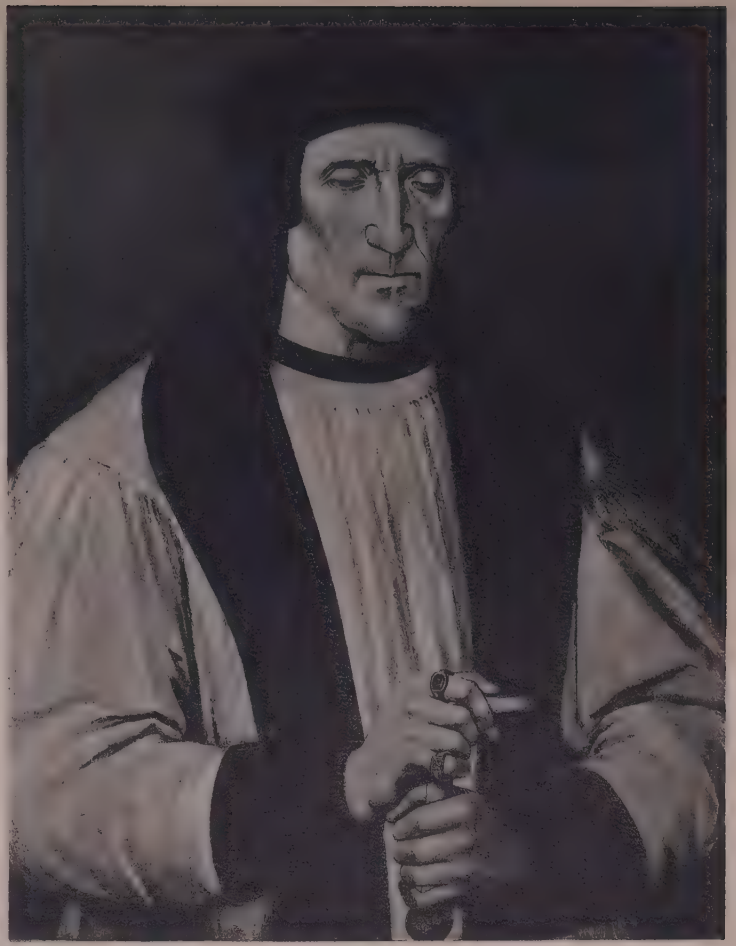
JOHANNES CORVUS

A. Richard Foxe.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College

B. Mary Tudor.

Sudeley Castle, Dent Brocklehurst, Esq.



4

SCHOOL OF HOLBEIN

Henry VIII.

London, St. Bartholomew's Hospital

5

JOHN BETTES

Edmund Butts.

London, National Gallery

·A·IATIS·

6

GERLACH FLICKE

Lord Grey de Wilton.

NEWBATTLE ABBEY, THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN

7

GERLACH FLICKE

Archbishop Cranmer.

London, National Portrait Gallery

8

SCHOOL OF HOLBEIN

Sir Thomas Gresham.

London, Mercers' Hall

·1544·
THOMAS·
GRESHAM·
Z 6
T G
O
A G
LOVE·SERVE·
AND·OBEI·
T G

9

SCHOOL OF HOLBEIN

Earl of Surrey (full-length).

Knole, Lord Sackville

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EDUCATION LIBRARY

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SCHOOL OF HOLBEIN

Lord de la Warr.

London, National Gallery

II

SCHOOL OF HOLBEIN

Edward VI (full-length).

Welbeck, The Duke of Portland

12

SCHOOL OF MOR

Queen Mary.

WINDSOR, H. M. THE KING

13

HANS EWORTH

Thomas Wyndham.

LONGFORD, THE EARL OF RADNOR

14

HANS EWORTH

Frances Brandon and Adrian Stoke.

Bettws-y-Coed, J. C. Wynne-Finch, Esq.

15

HANS EWORTH

Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and Charles Stuart.

WINDSOR, H. M. THE KING

THIS BE THE SONES OF FF RIGHT HONERABLES TERLLE OF LENOXE AD
FF LADY MARGARETT GRACE COVNTYES OF LENOXE AD ANGWYSE
1765
CHARLES STEWARDE
HIS BROTHER ÆTATIS 13
HENRY STEWARDE LORD DAR
LEY AND DOWGLAS, ÆTATIS 17

16

HANS EWORTH

Lady Dacre.

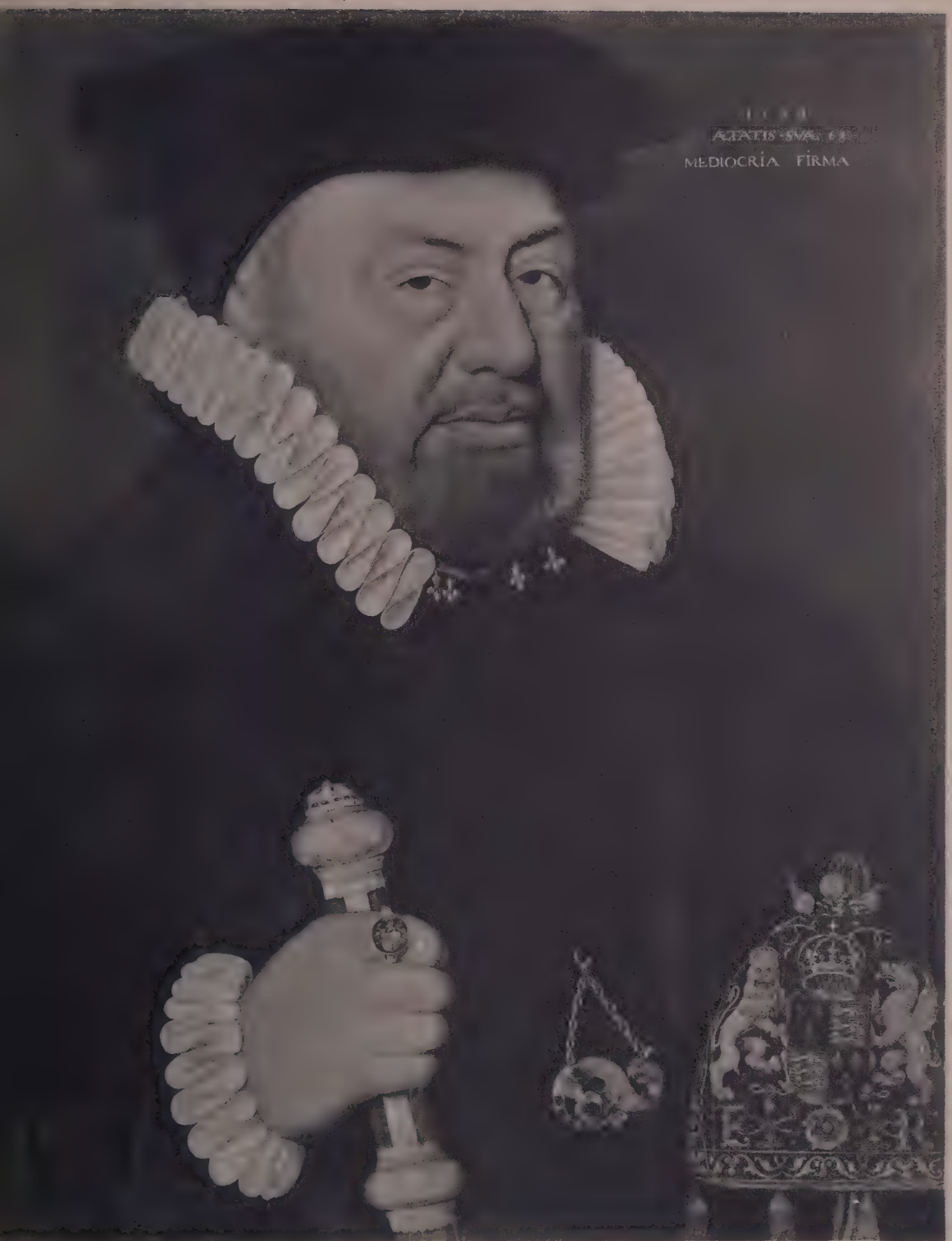
Formerly BELHUS, SIR T. BARRETT-LENNARD, BART.

17

UNKNOWN

Sir Nicholas Bacon.

Raveningham Hall, Nicholas H. Bacon, Esq.


ANNO
ÆTATIS SVÆ 63
MEDIOCRIA FIRMA

18

S. VAN DER MEULEN

John, Lord Lumley.

Lumley Castle, The Earl of Scarbrough

Mr. Luis Lumley
1503

19

S. VAN DER MEULEN

Lady Lumley.

Lumley Castle, The Earl of Scarbrough

Jane fizalen Daughter to
Henry Earle of Arundell Joyce
to the Duke Lord Dudley.

20

MARC GHEERAERTS SCHOOL

Queen Elizabeth.

London, National Portrait Gallery

21

UNKNOWN

Mary Queen of Scots (?).

London, National Portrait Gallery

22

GEORGE GOWER

Self-Portrait.

MILTON, G. C. FITZWILLIAM, ESQ.

I Though youthfull wayes me did intyse, from armes and vertew
yet thancke be God for his god gift, wch long did rest as Slepe
Now skill reuyues wth gayne, and lyfe to leade in rest
by pensils trade, wherfore I muse, este me of all as best
The proef where of thies ballance show, and armes my birth displayes
And thom whole vertew, fame and acts, haue won for me this shield
I reuerence muche wth forwyce ehe, and thanks to hem do yield

23

MARC GHEERAERTS

Dead Man.

THE HAGUE, KRÖLLER-MÜLLER COLLECTION

24

MARC GHEERAERTS

A. Lady Russell.

B. Sir William Russell.

WOBURN, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

25

MARC GHEERAERTS

Queen Elizabeth.

Welbeck, The Duke of Portland

26

MARC GHEERAERTS

Lady Sidney and her Family.

PENSHURST, LORD DE L'ISLE AND DUDLEY

27

MARC GHEERAERTS SCHOOL

Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Blackfriars.

SHERBORNE CASTLE, LT.-COL. F. J. B. WINGFIELD DIGBY

28

HIERONIMUS CUSTODIS

Sir John Parker.

HAMPTON COURT, H. M. THE KING

PRO FIDE ET PATRIA
ANNO DNI 1589

29

CORNELIS KETEL

Martin Frobisher.

Oxford, Bodleian Library

30

CORNELIS KETEL

William Gresham.

TITSEY PLACE, G. C. G. LEVESON-GOWER, ESQ.

COUNCIL

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UNKNOWN

Sir Edward Hoby.

Bisham Abbey, Lady Vansittart Neale

Ao dñi 1578
Ætatis Suæ 18

32

UNKNOWN

Sir Henry Unton.

Chester, E. Peter Jones, Esq.

33

UNKNOWN

Sir Henry Neville.

Raveningham Hall, N. H. Bacon, Esq.

34

UNKNOWN

Edward Grimston, 1590.

Gorhambury, The Earl of Verulam

GRATIA DEI GRATIA

35

A. MARC GHEERAERTS SCHOOL

Captain Thomas Lee.

DITCHLEY, THE VISCOUNT DILLON

B. ROBERT PEAKE

Prince Charles.

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

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PAUL VAN SOMER

Elizabeth Lady Tanfield.

Ditchley, The Viscount Dillon

37

PAUL VAN SOMER

Anne of Denmark and Dogs.

HAMPTON COURT, H. M. THE KING

38

DANIEL MYTENS

James, Marquess of Hamilton.

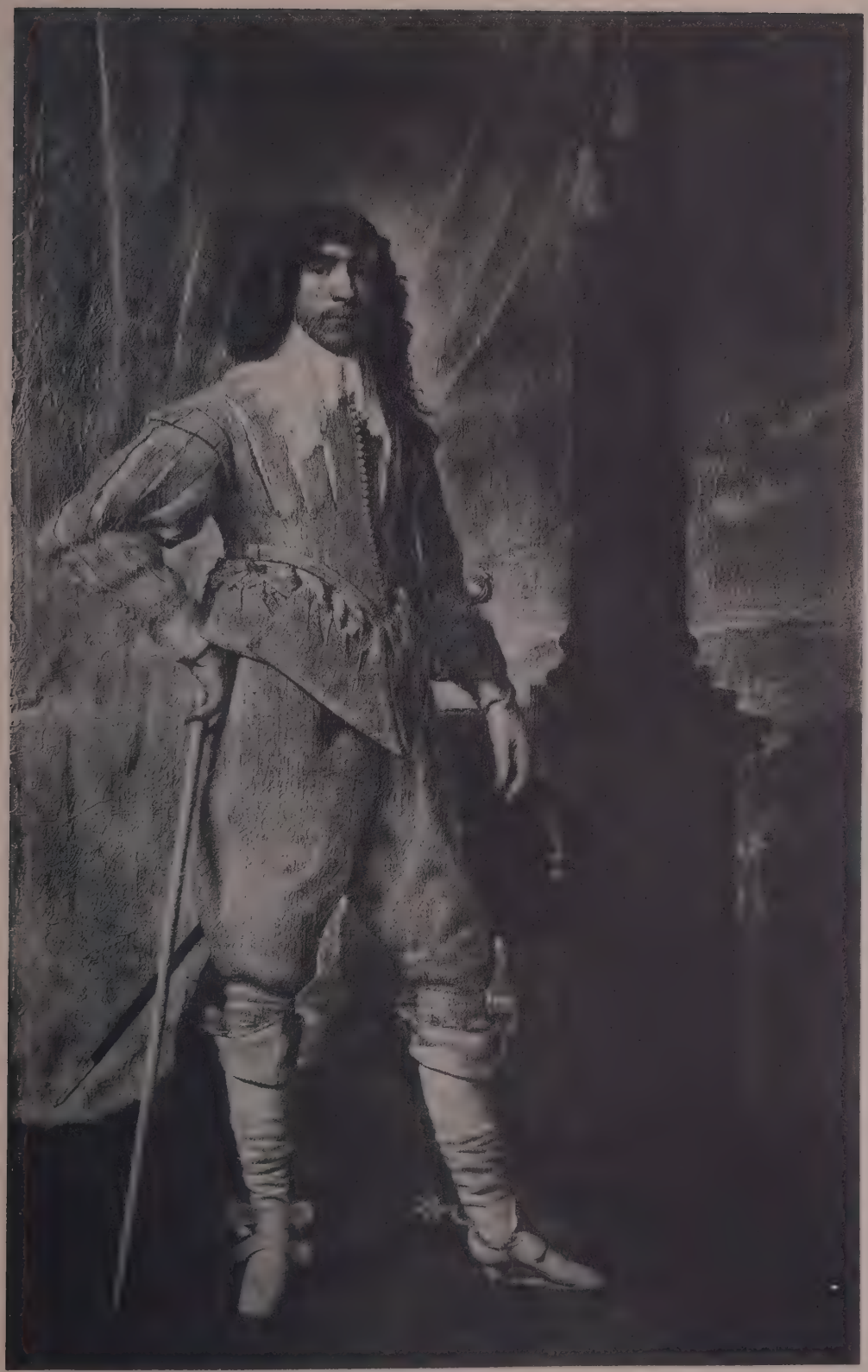
HAMPTON COURT, H. M. THE KING

39

DANIEL MYTENS

James, first Duke of Hamilton.

EDINBURGH, NATIONAL GALLERY, THE DUKE OF HAMILTON



40

DANIEL MYTENS

Anne, first Countess of Middlesex.

KNOLE, LORD SACKVILLE

41

GILBERT JACKSON

Anne, Countess of Dorset.

Woburn, The Duke of Bedford

42

JOHANN PRIWITZER

Lord William Russell and Dwarf.

Woburn, The Duke of Bedford

43

GEORGE GELDORP

William, second Earl of Salisbury.

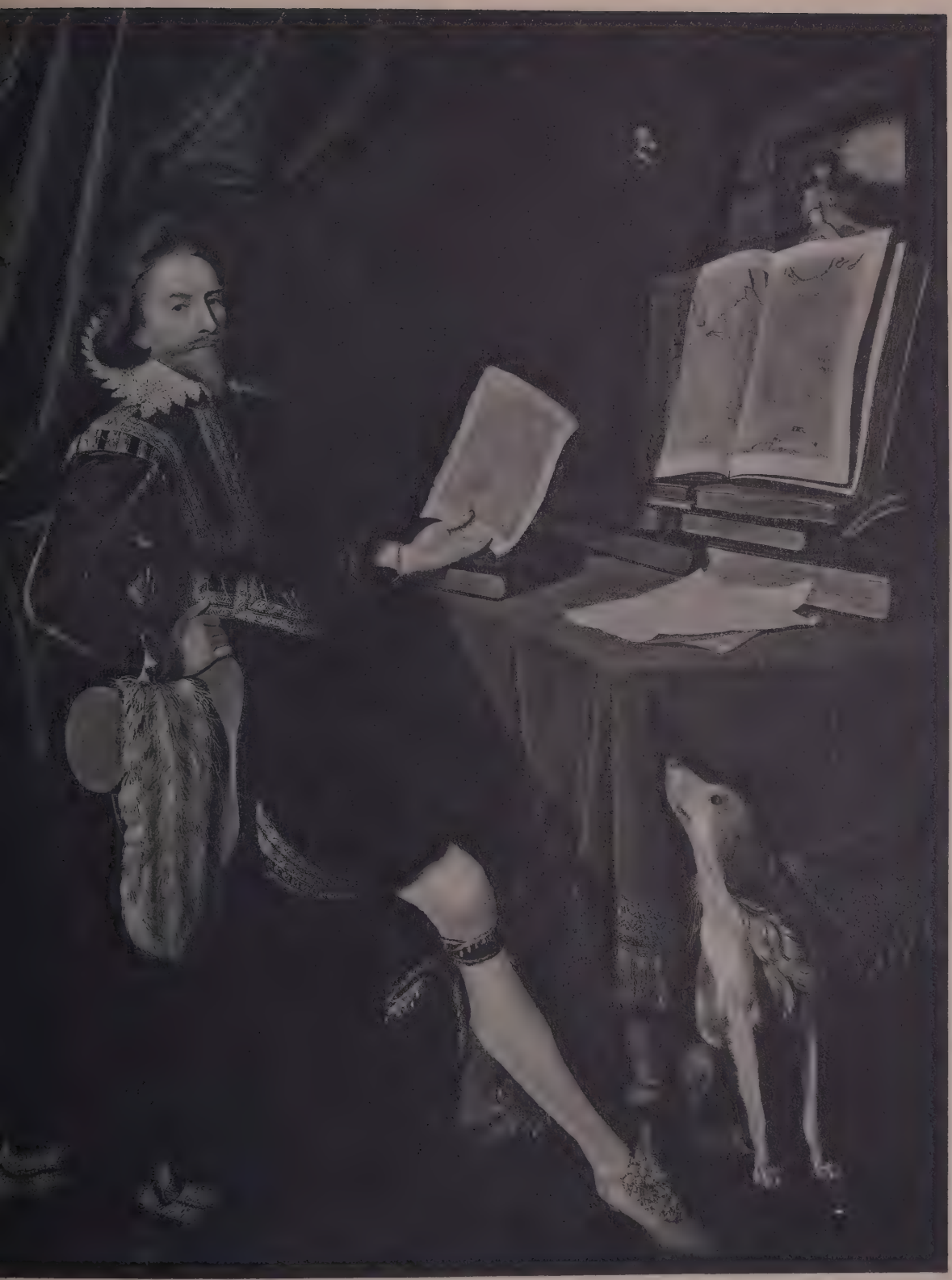
HATFIELD, THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY

44

NATHANIEL BACON

Self-Portrait.

Gorhambury, The Earl of Verulam



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CORNELIUS JOHNSON

Ralph Verney.

CLAYDON, SIR H. VERNEY, BART.

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CORNELIUS JOHNSON

Lady Waterpark.

Formerly a London Dealer

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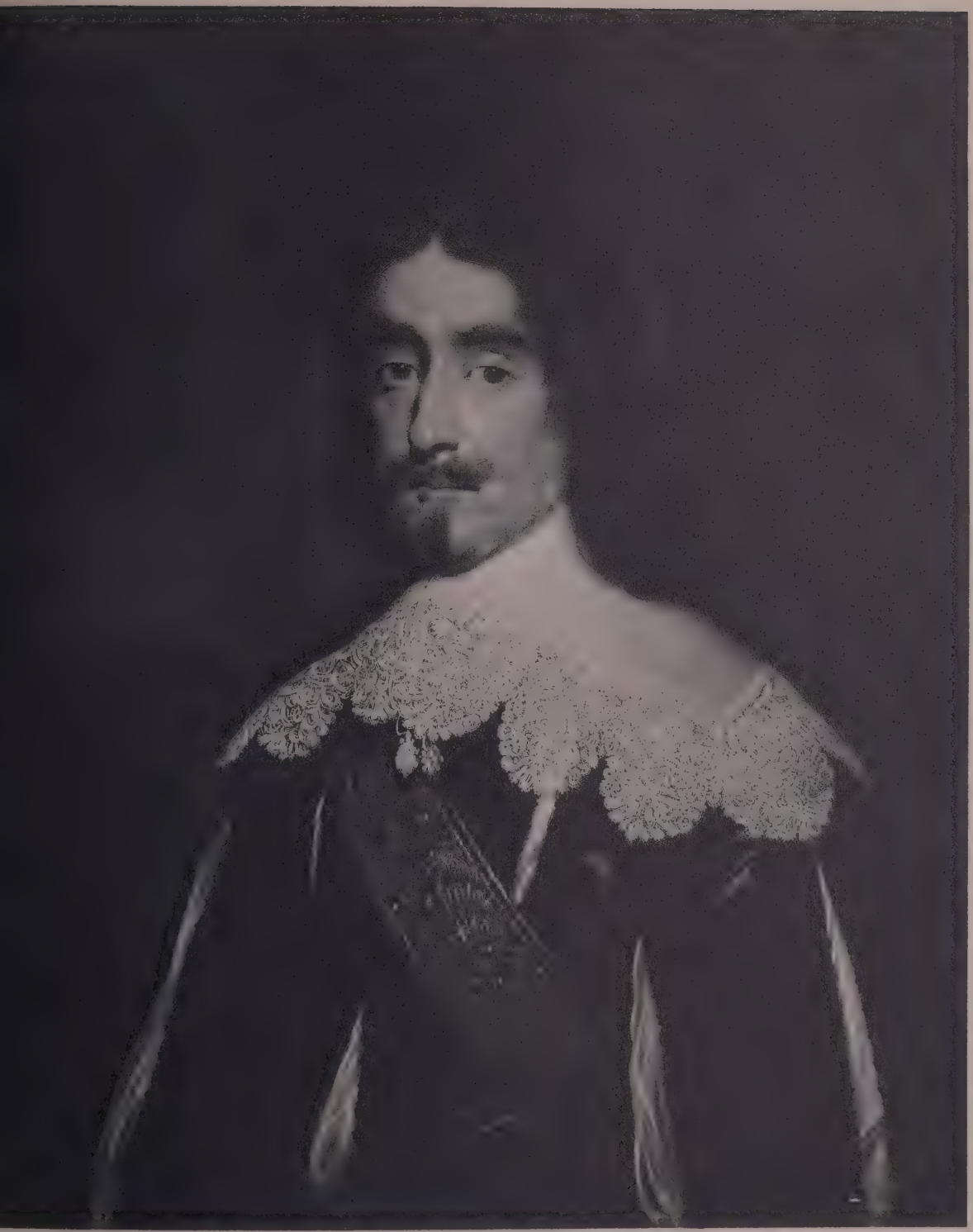
CORNELIUS JOHNSON

Henry Ireton.

Welbeck, The Duke of Portland



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WILLIAM DOBSON

Sir Richard Fanshawe.

Bratton Fleming, Basil Fanshawe, Esq.

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WILLIAM DOBSON

Sir C. Cotterell.

Rousham, Capt. Cotterell-Dormer

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WILLIAM DOBSON

"Old Stone and Son".

ALBURY, THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND

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F. HOW (?)

Jane Lane.

H. J. Lane, Esq.

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WILLIAM SHEPPARD

Thomas Killigrew.

Woburn, The Duke of Bedford

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DE CRITZ

A. John Tradescant.

B. Hester and John Tradescant.

OXFORD, THE VISITORS OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

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ROBERT WALKER

John Hampden.

London, National Portrait Gallery

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ISAAC FULLER

Self-Portrait.

London, National Portrait Gallery

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ISAAC FULLER

Matthew Lock.

OXFORD, EXAMINATION SCHOOLS

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JOHN HAYLS

Sir Greville Verney.

Woburn, The Duke of Bedford

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SIR PETER LELY

T. Fanshawe.

Bratton Fleming, Basil Fanshawe, Esq.

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SIR PETER LELY

Lady Bedel.

Bratton Fleming, Basil Fanshawe, Esq.

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SIR PETER LELY

Unknown Lady.

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SIR PETER LELY

Admiral Jeremy Smith.

Greenwich Hospital

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SIR PETER LELY

Lady Byron (?).

Hampton Court, H. M. the King

63

SIR PETER LELY

Baptist May.

Windsor, H. M. the King

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J. MICHAEL WRIGHT

Lionel Fanshawe.

SOUTHMINSTER, MAJOR C. H. FANSHAWE

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J. MICHAEL WRIGHT

Sir Willoughby Aston.

LONDON, MESSRS. LEGGATT

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J. MICHAEL WRIGHT

Lady Aston.

LONDON, MESSRS. LEGGATT

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EDMUND ASHFIELD

A. Unknown Man.

British Museum

B. Sir James Oxenden.

London, Lady Capel Cure

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T. THRUMTON

Unknown Youth.

OXFORD, THE VISITORS OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

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GERARD SOEST

John, Earl of Bridgewater, and Wife.

Welbeck, The Duke of Portland

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GERARD SOEST

Sir George Howard.

LONDON, MESSRS. COLNAGHI

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GERARD SOEST

Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

Dulwich Gallery

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GERARD SOEST

Self-Portrait.

DUBLIN, NATIONAL GALLERY

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JACOB HUYSMANS

Frances Stuart, Duchess of Richmond, in man's dress.

WINDSOR, H. M. THE KING

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL
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JOHN GREENHILL

Captain Clements.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL

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JOHN GREENHILL

Sir James Oxenden.

London, Lady Capel Cure

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JOHN RILEY

Lord William Russell.

London, National Portrait Gallery

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JOHN RILEY

The Duke of Lauderdale.

Syon House, The Duke of Northumberland

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MARY BEALE

Unknown Youth.

HARDWICK, THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

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GODFREY KNELLER

Dr. Burnet.

London, The Charterhouse

80

GODFREY KNELLER

The Earl of Romney.

London, National Portrait Gallery

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GODFREY KNELLER

Unknown Man.

Birmingham, Private Possession

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GODFREY KNELLER

Robert Thoroton.

NOTTINGHAM ART GALLERY

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL
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